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ABSTRACT

This course, one of 16 sequential courses comprising phase one of a part-time Bachelor of Arts degree program in Australian Studies, illustrates that the concept of work has not been a universal or historically consistent category. Some of the distinctive features of work in the Western world are covered, along with some effects of the Industrial Revolution on modern forms of work. This course is designed for independent study combined with tutorial sessions. Chapter 1 is an introduction to the course and its study objectives. Chapter 2, "Work as a Problem," deals with what distinguishes work from nonwork. Chapter 3, "Work in Traditional Societies," covers traditional economics. Chapter 4 deals with the impact of the Industrial Revolution on work. Chapter 5, "Time and Work in Traditional and Modern Societies," deals with labor, wages, and social change. Materials for the first tutorial deal with topics covered in chapters 1-3; the second tutorial is directed toward the remaining chapters and test preparation. Also included are lists of required readings, additional readings, a bibliography, and self-assessment questions. (IS)

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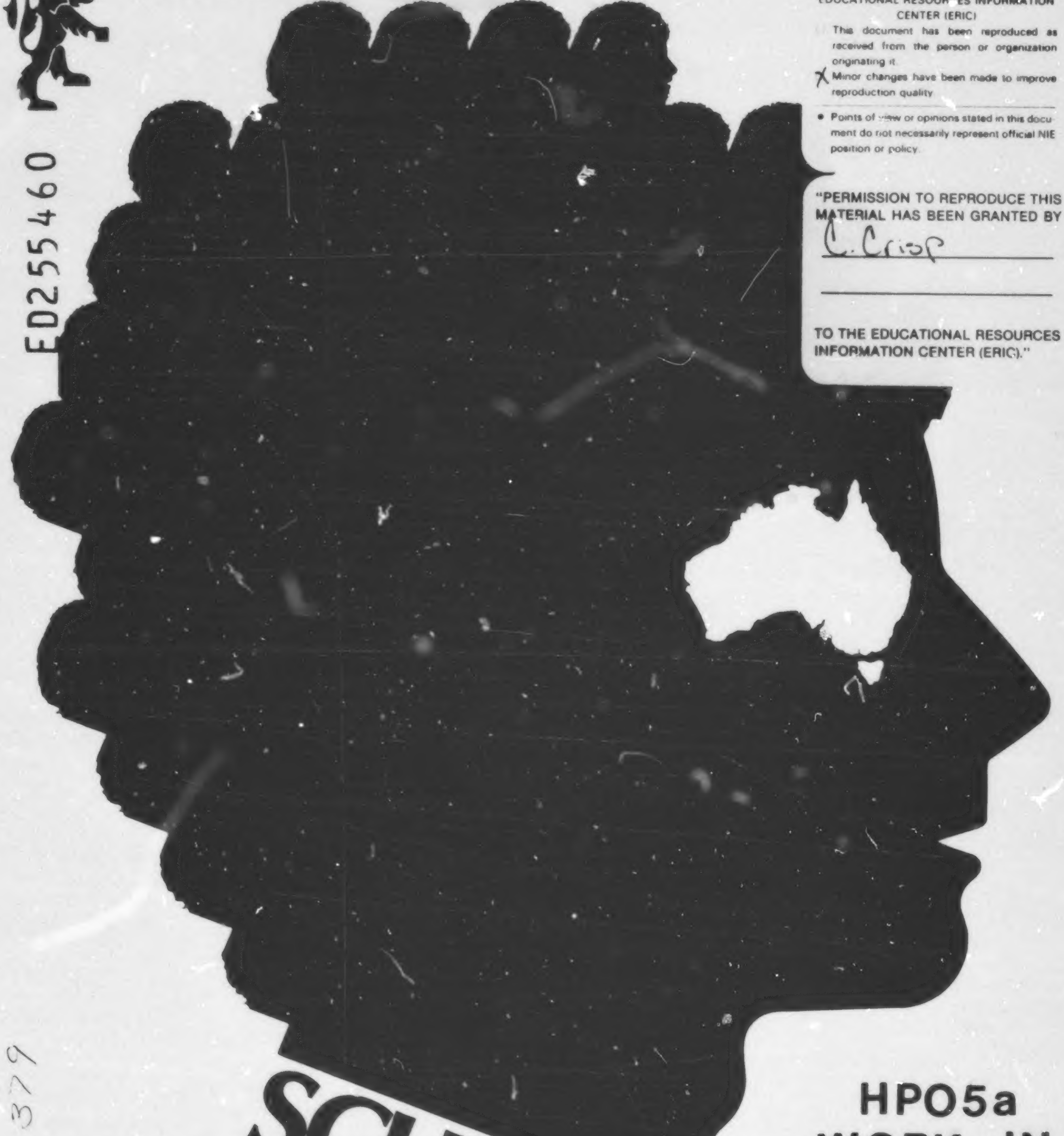

SO 016 379

SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

HP05a
WORK IN HISTORY

2

PART TIME BA DEGREE

GRIFFITH UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES

PART-TIME BA DEGREE PROGRAMME

COURSE HP05a

WORK IN HISTORY

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COURSE INFORMATION

Course readings

There are no set texts for this course. All the reading is provided in the 32 readings accompanying the study guide. A list of these readings can be found on pp.2-3. In addition, the course package includes a set of maps to help you to familiarise yourself with some of the places referred to in the study guide and readings.

Index and glossary

You will find an Index beginning on p.119, which is actually a combined index and glossary for Course HP05a. This contains major terms and concepts of the course with page references, and references to relevant readings and SAQs. This will help you in preparing your SAQ answers, particularly as you move through the course as concepts are developed and elaborated or connections are extended. To help you to use the Index, section 2 indicates which terms appear in the Index but for subsequent sections you will have to use your own initiative in checking cross-references. The Index also includes definitions for some of the major terms, as well as for difficult terms that appear in particular readings.

There is also a Name Index, on p.123 which includes names of authors and countries as well as non-English terms.

Tutorial activities

Two tutorial topics are proposed for this course. Details can be found on pp.50 and 96. Attendance at tutorials is, of course, optional.

Assessment

The assessment for this course will take the form of a three-hour examination. The examination will have three parts: Part 1 will require short answers to questions drawn from all sections of the course; Parts 2 and 3 will each consist of an essay (500-750 words). The major focus of Part 2 will be pre-industrial societies; the major focus of Part 3 will be the Industrial Revolution and modern societies.

Completing the SAQs will be an adequate preparation for Part 1. Tutorial Two will provide guidance for answering the sorts of essay questions to be found in Parts 2 and 3.

Please contact the Programme Administrator on 275-7574 when you are ready to sit for the examination. (At least one week's notice is required.)

LIST OF READINGS

Section 2 (pink cover)

Reading 1. Leonard Fagin, 'Psychiatry' (excerpts)

Reading 2. Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier* (excerpts)

Reading 3. Mike Lefevre, 'Who built the pyramids?' (excerpts)

Reading 4. Erik Schwimmer, 'The limits of economic ideology' (excerpts)

Reading 5. Karl Marx, *Capital* (excerpts)

Reading 6. Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (excerpts)

Reading 7. Karl Polanyi, 'Societies and economic systems' (excerpts)

Reading 8. Frances Panoff, 'Some facets of Maenge horticulture' (excerpts)

Reading 9. Raymond Williams, 'Work' (excerpts)

Reading 10. Maurice Godelier, 'Work and its representations' (excerpts)

Reading 11. John Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (excerpts)

Section 3 (cream cover)

Reading 12. George Dalton, *Traditional Tribal and Peasant Economies: an Introductory Survey of Economic Anthropology* (excerpts)

Reading 13. Karl Polanyi, *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies* (excerpts)

Reading 14. Claude Meillassoux, '"The economy" in agricultural self-sustaining societies' (excerpt)

Reading 15. George Dalton, *Traditional Tribal and Peasant Economies: an Introductory Survey of Economic Anthropology* (excerpts)

Reading 16. Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (excerpts)

Reading 17. Karl Marx, 'Critique of the Gotha Programme' (excerpts)

Reading 18. Stanley Udy, *Work in Traditional and Modern Society* (excerpts)

Reading 19. Marcel Mauss, *Sociology and Psychology* (excerpts)

Section 4 (yellow cover)

Reading 20. Edward Thompson, 'Time, work-discipline, and industrial capitalism' (excerpts)

Reading 21. Barry Jones, *Sleepers, Wake!* (excerpts)

Reading 22. Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (excerpts)

Reading 23. Phyllis Deane, 'Great Britain' (excerpts)

Reading 24. Eric Hobsbawm, 'Origin of the Industrial Revolution' (excerpts)

Reading 25. Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (excerpt)

Reading 26. John Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (excerpts)

Reading 27. Stephen Marglin, 'The origins and functions of hierarchy in capitalist production' (excerpts)

Reading 28. Sidney Pollard, 'Factory discipline in the Industrial Revolution' (excerpts)

Reading 29. Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (excerpts)

Reading 30. Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (excerpts)

Reading 31. Karl Marx, *Capital* (excerpts)

Reading 32. Stanley Chapman, 'The textile factory before Arkwright: a typology of factory development' (excerpts)

Maps (blue cover)

Map 1. Papua New Guinea and surrounding islands

Map 2. The Trobriand Islands

Map 3. Railways and cotton in Great Britain in 1844

PRELIMINARY EXERCISE

Look at the following statements, concentrating on different senses of the term 'work'.

1. 'At summer camp, I had to clean out the stables every day. It's very hard work.'

2. 'I think you'll find that working out this arithmetic problem is really no trouble at all.'

3. 'I don't know what I'd do if I didn't go to work every day.'

4. 'I don't do anything really. I mean I don't work - I just do the cooking and cleaning and look after my husband and children.'

5. 'They told us we could get the things we needed if we did what the coconut plantation manager told us to. But whenever we came across some wild yam or a wallaby we could hunt, they told us we weren't working.'

6. 'Our family aren't workers. My mother was a doctor, and so was her mother.'

7. 'I think you really have to work at emotional relationships in order to get them to work.'

Reading over these statements, you will have noticed a number of ambiguities in the term 'work'. Use the rest of this page to draw up a list of what you think would be the key features defining work. You will be asked at various points in the study guide to refer back to this list.

1 INTRODUCTION TO THE COURSE AND ITS OBJECTIVES

Both the courses in this unit are concerned with the way in which work has become a problem, both a political problem and a theoretical problem. It is a political problem in that many political demands and reforms are focussed on areas such as unemployment, wages and working conditions. Work is identified as part of the economy, and politics takes as its objective the structuring or restructuring of the economy to maximise the welfare of the nation's population - or, in the current state of affairs, to minimise their hardships. To say this is not to endorse one 'brand' of politics over another, to praise or blame Liberal or Labor, right-wing or left-wing politicians. On the contrary, it is to point to what is common between all modern politicians, namely their focus on the economy. Work is an index of the health of the economy, of national prosperity: we tend to diagnose economic problems in terms of unemployment, or the difficulties in finding workers for particular sectors - sometimes a region's economic difficulties will be explained by the absence of, say, skilled engineers. Thus, government intervention in the area of work - by retraining schemes, by government investment or guarantees for particular industries - is offered as a way of curing economic problems. And, equally, the unemployed are seen as a government responsibility.

This prominence of economic concerns in politics indicates something specific to modern Western societies. We see the economy as a separate domain, with laws of its own known only to specialists but nonetheless determining many aspects of life. Work is thus part of a technical field indicated by terms such as 'productivity', 'labour shortage', 'income curve', etc. However opaque that terminology may be to non-economists, we nonetheless believe that the science of economics can explain the linkages between different economic and social phenomena. By the same token, we believe that economics can explain what is common to different everyday experiences of work, for here too work is a central organising feature of everyday life, something to which all other aspects of life have to accommodate themselves. Everyday life is structured around the periods of time devoted to work. We must regulate our sleeping, drinking and eating habits so as to make work possible and efficient. The time not spent at work is largely occupied with spending the wages or salaries we have earned at work. Even holidays, whatever pleasurable adventures one may find to occupy them, have as their first definition and primary pleasure simply the fact that they are time off work. Work is also a central focus of defining personal identity, either positively in terms of defining oneself as an architect, car mechanic or builder, or negatively, the job one has to do as opposed to what one would really like to be.

Thus, in saying that work has become a political problem, this is to use 'politics' both in its standard sense of debates over government policies, and also with regard to the additional sense of 'political' that has emerged with political movements like feminism or the 'green movement'. These are political movements which argue that personal life is also a matter of politics. Work, to the extent that it is located in the economic field which is the concern of traditional parliamentary, trade union or socialist politics, is seen as an area of activity which affects the fate of the nation as a whole, as well as each individual member of the nation. Personal politics also sees work as central in structuring everyday life and adds to that description the emphasis on personal identification and self-definition in something as apparently impersonal as the work process. Thus, in pointing to the specification of work as a political problem, we are pointing to something characteristic of modern Western societies: the placing of work within the domain of economic organisation, plus the assertion that economic organisation is also a major point of emotional investment and identification for non-economic phenomena such as social and personal life. How has work become such a major factor in people's lives - so much so that it also provides such a powerful metaphor for many non-economic activities? We speak not only of office work but of working at emotional relationships. These two political aspects of work highlight two sides of the question of work as it will be discussed in Courses HP05a and HP05b: work as related to the structure of economy and work as related to the structures of social and personal life. *Work in History* and *Work in Australia* are thus quite closely linked.

Courses HP05a and HP05b also share the same overall objective of identifying what is specific to contemporary work practices in countries like Australia, while at the same time introducing some issues in modern social theory. Just as work has become a political problem, it has also become a theoretical problem, i.e., an area of investigation and analysis for the social sciences and history. These disciplines all bring with them the same assumption which informs the definition of work as a political problem, that is, that work is a major element in human culture affecting many other aspects of life.

These disciplines have all concerned themselves with, among other issues, describing and analysing work not only in modern Western culture but in other historical periods and different social structures. Whereas *Work in Australia* will be concentrating more on work and work patterns in twentieth-century Australia, the present course, *Work in History*, will be emphasising the comparative and historical dimensions of work.

Yet the very success of this research in investigating the nature of work in different societies has also thrown up the central question: what exactly is work? The study of work in other societies or in earlier historical periods has involved giving up many 'obvious' assumptions about how work must be organised or perceived. This may not seem to be a problem - but one of the central features of modern Western society is precisely the fact that work is obvious and recognisable as a specially demarcated area of life.

This course will make such comparisons in a number of different ways. Sometimes it will be a matter of comparing work practices as they occur on a day-to-day basis. Sometimes it will be a matter of seeing what kinds of vocabularies different societies have for describing what, in modern Western societies, would 'obviously' be called work. Through such comparisons the course will introduce the way in which different types of analyses and theoretical explanations conceptualise the problem of work. These explanations or conceptualisations do not always agree with each other. Nor could one say, even in modern Western societies, that 'work' was an entirely unambiguous concept, as the examples in the Preliminary Exercise were designed to indicate.

Looking at work in other times and other places is thus a way of 1) identifying more clearly what is distinctive about work today in countries like Australia; 2) seeing how and why the nature of work has changed; and 3) introducing the way in which particular types of social theory set up problems - in this case the problem of work - for analysis and discussion. One theme particularly emphasised in Course HP05a is the question of time, more specifically the relation between work and time. Are different work practices difficult to conceive as work because they have a different time structure in the course of the day or year? How is the work-time relation in modern Western societies related to the wage-system? Not all aspects of comparison fall under the question of time, but it is a useful and important way to approach the problem.

Course HP05a can be divided into four parts:

Section 2: What are the key features defining work in societies like contemporary Australia? Have these always been the key features of work? Are they key features of work in all societies?

Section 3: How is work organised in traditional societies? Why have social scientists defined work in traditional and modern societies in terms of the economic organisation of society?

What are some of the different definitions of the economy which have been used?

Section 4: What specific historical changes have brought about the current structure of work organisation and work relations?

Section 5: Review and amplification of the course.

In fact, the following section of HP05a will serve as an introduction to both the courses in Unit 5, since the problems it raises about finding a definition of work, or thinking about work in general, also figure in the sister course, HP05b. At the end of section 2, you will find some more detailed comments about the division of labour between these two courses on work.

2 WORK AS A PROBLEM

2.1 What is work?

In section 1 work was identified by reference to two sorts of political problem. In the first reading it will be possible to follow up these two aspects of work in more detail. Reading 1 throws light on the nature of work in an indirect way, by looking at what it means to be out of work, to be unemployed. You will notice that this essay was written from the point of view of a psychiatrist. So, which of the two aspects of work mentioned in section 1 will you expect to see treated in most detail? (This aspect of work is sometimes also referred to as the 'subjective' aspect of work, in that it indicates the ways in which people experience work.)

The reading identifies unemployment as a crisis in personal life and asks why this should be so. Far more is involved than the loss of income: unemployment is described here as a personal crisis, since work is a domain of personal and psychological investment. Even if the crisis of unemployment is resolved 'happily' by finding what Fagin calls a 'productive and meaningful unemployed existence', this is seen as involving a major realisation about how central work had been in structuring personal life.

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Read Leonard Fagin, 'Psychiatry' (excerpts), reading 1.

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2.1.1 Work and personal life

Let us begin by concentrating on the 'subjective' aspects of work, distinguishing two aspects of the question: 1) personal identity, that is, questions of who we are, what emotional relations we have with others - how are these things related to work? 2) time, that is, temporal structuring of everyday life - how are our lives given a framework by regularities like the working week? Let us begin with personal identity.

Fagin discusses two aspects of personal identity - personality types and family life. With respect to the first, for instance, he claims that certain personality types 'go with' certain jobs: obsessional characters make good proofreaders and accountants; boisterous extroverts might make good actresses. Equally, undesirable personality traits might tend to come to the surface in some jobs rather than others: social work is mentioned as a profession where people might easily channel personal anxieties by getting over-involved with their clients. Finally, different types of jobs may in turn affect the personality, producing the mannerisms and concerns of the 'typical' accountant or academic.

He also discusses the relation between work and family life, particularly in families where the man is the breadwinner and the wife stays at home. Such families, particularly where they are part of tight one-occupation communities, such as mining villages, tend to identify themselves in the community through the job of the husband and father and so are particularly disoriented in a time of unemployment. Within the family, according to Fagin, the male authority which goes with his status as sole earner will be disrupted when he is out of work. In this sense, perhaps a period of unemployment would be salutary in many families: Fagin certainly says that the wife may become more assertive in decision-making. The ambiguity about housework as a form of work, which you would have noted in the preliminary exercise, reflects the high status given to paid work in our society, a status which spills over from work to family relations.

Work therefore is one of the public domains in which personality is defined; work has what Fagin calls an affective aspect, i.e., major emotional involvements are given by work relations. You might think that these forms of identification apply more to professional middle-class jobs such as doctor, lawyer, engineer. But you should also think about the role of apprenticeships and trade union craft identifications. As in many societies, accession to specialist skills is marked by initiation rituals of some sort. (Reading 3 may also make you think about this more carefully.) This may explain why the use of new technology in the printing industry, for instance, is often seen by print-workers as extremely threatening, not just because of the threat of job loss, but because of personal identity invested in acquired skills and knowledge. 'Unskilled' work may also involve forms of identification in different areas of industry, with building labourers, for instance, specialising in the lore of a particular locality.

The second aspect of personal life discussed by Fagin concerns the organisation of non-work and 'leisure' time in relation to work-time. Go back to the reading now for the following SAQ.

SAQ 1

What are the three ways mentioned by Fagin (p.2) in which the existence of a demarcation between work-time and non-work time is important for giving a structure to personal life? How do these show up in periods of unemployment?

In all three cases, what is important to note is not just the distinction between the definite period spent at work and that spent in non-work, but the fact that the work-time also, in effect, defines the non-work time, as long as the latter is voluntary, as opposed to unemployment. It is because work is a separate domain taking up most of the day, that it is possible to concentrate emotional outlets in family life in the evenings. It is because work days provide a 'calendar' of specific activities that time is seen as an orderly succession of days and weeks rather than a gulf of timeless, empty periods. It is because work involves periods of time spent doing what other people want us to do that leisure gets its sense of 'time when we can do what we want'. By contrast, unemployment means the erosion of emotional family life, the loss of a 'calendar', the loss of a feeling of control over what one does.

Thus differences in the structure of work also entail differences in non-working life. Instances from other sorts of societies, European and non-European, will be used in the course to indicate different kinds of possible relations between social/personal and working life.

2.1.2 'Objective' features of work

The ways in which work structures personal life and identity also tell us something about the objective features of work. Fagin uses the definition that work is 'all those activities in which an individual is involved on a regular basis and for which he (or she) receives a direct financial reward' (p.2). 'Work on a regular basis' obviously refers to permanent employment along the lines of those temporal demarcations already noted - a regular and permanent working day and year, punctuated by recognised leisure or non-work periods. The existence of set work-places, such as offices, building-sites and factories, places which are for work and only for work - which we may even refer to by saying 'I'm going to work' - is also part of 'work on a regular basis'.

Fagin discusses the 'financial reward' in terms of a 'bargain' about control, in which 'control over one's work is sacrificed in order to obtain financial gain which offers control over one's leisure and one's future'. (As we shall see later, this notion of exchanging work for payment is very important.) The identification of work with financial gain is a central feature distinguishing work from other activities from which there is no such gain. Paid work also makes such activities possible since leisure activities for the most part involve financial outlay in societies like Australia today.

SAQ 2

What two 'objective' features of work are itemised by Fagin? Are these items on the list that you composed in the preliminary exercise? How do they make it easier to define work?

In the introduction to the course it was noted that work was a political problem in two senses: 1) an economic problem to be addressed by politics conceived along traditional lines, and 2) a personal problem to be addressed by a politics conceived along the lines of political movements like feminism which sees areas of personal life, the quality of life, as also political. The Fagin reading indicates how closely related these two areas may be. Yet, as conveyed by his term 'acceptable distancing', it is also characteristic of modern Western societies that the economic and the social/personal are two separate spheres, affecting each other rather than being identical.

However, in looking at Fagin's definition of work, you may have been disquieted by the remark:

> ...I have found it necessary to establish an arbitrary boundary on its [work's] definition: the 'work' here, refers to a 'job', and pertains to formal employment in industrial society ... the meaning of 'work' is neither static nor universal. (p.1)

What does he mean by this? Surely it is obvious what work is. It occupies a definite part of the day and year; there are places called 'work' which one can go to. After all, work is what one gets paid for.

Yet profound differences between notions of work in different societies have been documented not only by social science research but in records of early colonial encounters. Such differences are recounted in the following reading. These differences are reflected in the problem of trying to give a simple and standard definition of work.

From a chapter appropriately named 'The Politics of Contact', reading 2 describes attempts by English colonists in Australia - a coconut plantation owner, Government officials in West Australia and Queensland, cattle station managers - to use Aborigines as 'voluntary labourers for wages'. Not only was the wage system unfamiliar in a non-money society but colonists complained that the Aborigines 'would not work regularly; would not settle; they were unpunctual'. The connection between attempts to reform these behaviours and the introduction of the wage system is something we shall be investigating throughout the course;

you should begin to think about this connection as you go through reading 2.

****

Read Henry Reynolds, *The Other Side of the Frontier* (excerpts), reading 2.

****

SAQ 3

1. List at least three ways in which the Aborigines mentioned here resisted the regularities of set work-times.

2. What otner problems does Reynolds mention in instituting the idea of wages?

It is such moments of mutual incomprehension that underline the problem of finding some general concept of work. To bring out the contrasts in a less formal way, let us turn briefly to an account of work from a more familiar social setting. The following reading is a personal account of working life from a Chicago steelworker in the 1970s. It is subjective and evocative of the quality of working life in the twentieth century in countries like America and Australia. Once again, you should concentrate on the time aspect of work. Why does Mike Lefevre say at one point, 'Time, that's the important thing.'?

(Walt Whitman, referred to several times by Mike Lefevre in reading 3, was an American poet writing in the 1850s and 1860s. Many of his poems celebrate the heroic spirit of America - his most famous poem 'When lilacs last in the dooryard bloomed' is an elegy to Abraham Lincoln. He is thus an appropriate name to be found on the lips of a steelworker mourning a loss of a more natural form of working life in the era of mass-production.)

****

Read Mike Lefevre, 'Who built the pyramids?' (excerpts), reading 3.

****

Clearly, a man with such a 'bad attitude' to work does not appear to be bound up in work in the way Fagin suggests. But is this so obvious? His fantasies about what work used to be like or might be still make work the centre of an emotional investment.

The kind of work described by Mike Lefevre is one example of what Fagin called 'formal employment in industrial society'. It is formal because it is regular paid employment. By 'industrial society' is usually meant societies like twentieth-century Australia, America, Europe (at least, in their dominant social and economic structures). Precisely why they are called 'industrial' will be examined in more detail in sections 4 and 5 of the course, but it signifies roughly societies in which manufacturing of goods in factory production plays a dominant role. (This, too, is an oversimplification since industrial work is far more diversified than simply factory production.) However, roughly speaking, 'industrial society' refers both to the predominance of this type of production and to associated economic and social developments.

Industrial societies are often contrasted with what are called 'traditional' societies, of which the Aborigines described by Reynolds would be one example. In fact, 'traditional' is a term which groups together what are fairly different types of social organisation with different modes of economic life. However, we shall continue to use the term 'traditional' as a gross distinction from 'industrial' because we shall later be relying on the overall similarities (rather than the differences) between such societies to make a broad contrast between work in 'traditional' pre-Industrial Revolution Britain with work in 'industrial' societies.

The next reading brings out very clearly why the contrast between different kinds of society should produce a theoretical problem in defining work. It will explain something that may have struck you as strange in the Reynolds reading (reading 2), in John McLaren's report that the Aborigines he encountered said that 'in their habitual mode of life they *worked* not at all, and hunted only when the need for food was on them' (p.1). In reading 4, Erik Schwimmer is giving an account of his interviews with the Orokaiva people (Papua New Guinea, see map no.1), a society whose traditional forms of life are in the process of disruption by contact with 'industrial' society. Erik Schwimmer contrasts 'precontact' Orokaiva with the 'postcontact' situation, i.e., before and after the intervention of Western practices, namely wage-labour and cash cropping (growing crops for monetary sale rather than for either personal consumption or non-monetary forms of distribution). Section 4 on the Industrial Revolution will be concerned to examine this kind of shift from traditional to industrial work.

Schwimmer is particularly interested in using linguistic changes as evidence of the kinds of conceptual reorganisation accompanying the restructuring of work. He examines different meanings of the Orokaivan term '*pure aisora*' in precontact and postcontact Orokaivan society.

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Read Erik Schwimmer, 'The limits of economic ideology' (excerpts), reading 4.

****

SAQ 4

1. What are the two usages of the term pure aisora which Schwimmer notes?
2. In what way is one of these usages connected to the 'postcontact' situation in Orokaiva?

Schwimmer's argument about the term pure aisora adds another key feature to modern Western concepts of work: work is a general concept or category, what Schwimmer calls a 'generic' term. It is something which a number of different activities may have in common. He also connects this conceptualisation of work as a general concept with the use of wage-labour. In societies where work is not something done in exchange for money, he argues, there is no general concept of work.

Thus we have now built up an association between:

- wage-labour
- work temporally (and spatially) demarcated from non-work
- a general term for work

This association or combination of features constitutes what can be referred to as the 'work logic' of industrial societies. By contrast, in traditional societies, the following features are combined:

- no wages
- no temporal boundaries demarcating work from non-work
- no general term for work; instead, terms for specific work and non-work activities.

The first set of contrasts we have found in industrial societies; the second set in traditional societies. There is one more point which can be derived from reading 4 which can link these together.

On p.1 Schwimmer states that it was rarely important for precontact Orokaivans to know precisely how many days a particular activity would take. How would you guess this is related to the features of work listed above for industrial and traditional societies? (Try to work this out before going on.)

It concerns the use of time as a measure of work in modern Western societies as, in fact, an enabling condition of the wage relation itself. Thus, apparently contingent features of work - a set continuous time period, a definite workplace - are what make it possible to calculate the wage as the measure, not of a specific work activity, but of work in general, a quantity of work. These conditions guarantee that a certain amount of work has been done in a certain time. Wage-labour depends upon the existence of uniform and calculable continuous time periods of work, with a definite beginning and end, and strictly defined breaks. When it comes to figuring out a wage, it is necessary to think of work in general, as something which can be measured in time (so many days' work, or hours' work). Thus, just as in precontact Orokaiva there is no general term 'work', but only names for different (work and non-work) activities, so there is no point in calculating how long any activity would take.

2.2 Work as a general concept

There is a dilemma in trying to produce a universally applicable definition of work. On the one hand, one could produce a list of activities or tasks (building houses, digging taro, working in a steel mill). But here there is a problem. These activities aren't necessarily work, since one could, for instance, plant taro as a hobby. Equally, since new activities are always coming into the domain of work, one would constantly have to revise the list. This is confirmed by the fact that societies which name only specific activities or tasks do not have a general term meaning 'work in general'. On the other hand, the idea of 'work in general' seems to be tied to very cultural specific features - wage-labour, with its supporting conditions of definite work-times and workplaces.

Attempts to produce a more general definition of work valid for all types of society seem to be unable to draw a clear distinction between work and non-work. And this is just the problem. Any definition of work must be specific enough to be meaningful, yet definitions of work pitched at an abstract, non-cultural specific level end up failing to distinguish work from non-work. Thus, some definitions have cast human work by analogy with the concept of work in physics where it refers to the expenditure of energy. But if work means simply physical exertion, or even mental exertion as well, then this idea is so broad that it can include everything that a human being does, including sitting still. Indeed, Fagin discusses a similar possibility (on p.1). He notes that others have used the term 'work', rather in the sense indicated in statement 7 in the preliminary exercise, to refer to 'the energy expended in maintaining social, familial and political relationships, and even of identity structures as such' - but he objects that this gives us no way of distinguishing between work and non-work or leisure.

In other words, we find the dilemma that definitions of work must be more than lists of activities yet not too abstract. This dilemma is reflected in the following reading. (You should note that in this reading, Marx uses the term 'labour' instead of 'work'. This reflects his desire to try and find some more general concept which is not as culturally specific as 'work'.) On the one hand, Marx makes work more narrow than a simple expenditure of energy: it is defined as having a definite outcome, as effecting a change or 'transformation'. On the other hand, animals might also be seen as effecting transformations. To be work, something more is required, which Marx identifies as the element of purpose involved, the presence of an already formulated objective or design which guides the work.

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Read Karl Marx, *Capital* (excerpts), reading 5.

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But will this definition do? Will it provide a basic definition of work which will hold good for all times and places? Purposeful activity by itself is not enough to distinguish a set of work activities from non-work activities, for people perform many purposeful activities which are not counted as work, or only count as work under certain conditions. But, as soon as one begins to list those conditions, there is the danger of introducing considerations which are too specific to one's own time and culture. Thus, digging in the ground, planting and weeding are purposeful activities associated with gardening. Yet to call this work or not, one would still tend to ask whether or not this gardening was a hobby done in spare time or whether it was a full-time paid occupation. If it is a full-time occupation, then it would count as work. But work is not organised like this in all cultures, nor has it always been in the West. Having a full-time job, which occupies defined periods of the day is something specific to modern Western society. The addition of the notions of object and instrument of labour transforming nature do not make work more recognisable and are, in fact, specific to the image of nineteenth-century labouring. (As we shall see later, the concept of transforming nature is also not universal.)

But, as we have seen, paid work is something characteristic of modern Western industrial society and not a general feature of work. It is important to underline why paid work is associated with the idea of measuring labour in terms of time. The absence of payment does not mean just the absence of money. It means that there is no moment when work is directly rewarded by some sort of recompense, an 'exchange' of work for something else. If we took the example of a peasant household where a variety of tasks was undertaken - say a smallholding with some livestock, some land worked as well as some sort of weaving activity, then such a household could exist largely on the food produced on the smallholding. Even supposing some of the food was taken to market, along with some of the woven goods and exchanged either by barter or for money, it would still be the case that work (or labour) was not directly exchanged for money.

One would think that there must be some criterion, other than being paid, for determining what counts as work and what does not. But, as has been shown, the wage-relation is more than just the exchange of work for money; it occurs in institutional conditions which also serve to demarcate work. For us, the meaning and reference of the term 'work' are obvious precisely because it usually takes place in a definite workplace, usually purpose-built for that kind of work and only for work. Work occurs between set hours and, apart from authorised breaks for eating and resting, takes place continuously between those hours. It is these sorts of things, rather than some underlying abstract principle, which make 'work' a general term capable of designating what various activities have in common.

2.3 Distinguishing work from non-work in traditional societies

The general question we shall discuss here is the problem of distinguishing work from non-work in societies which do not employ wage-labour or demarcate work into definite time periods. Work in such societies appears fragmented in a number of ways.

Up to now you have not had much contact with descriptions of what we shall still call 'work' activities in traditional societies. (The terms 'work practices' or 'work routines' can also be used.) The Reynolds reading (reading 2) described how societies used to hunting and nomadic agriculture found regular work routines on plantations and cattle stations irksome and unfamiliar, without saying much about the people's own hunting or agricultural activities. The Schwimmer reading (reading 4) told you that Orokaivan taro-growing was the central activity but that hunting, drum-making, fishing and house-building also took place and that there were specific names for these activities but no overall word for 'work'.

Reading 6 refers to several of the aspects of work in a traditional society that make it problematic to call any such activity 'work'. This reading is from Bronislaw Malinowski's *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (1922), one of the first books to take seriously the economic life of a traditional society. Despite the fact that it was written sixty years ago - as is evident from the use of terms such as 'the natives' which we would tend to avoid today - this book is still one of the best accounts of the Trobriand Islands (in the South Pacific). Malinowski was one of the first to conduct modern fieldwork, now considered a major method of gathering data for sociological and anthropological analysis; he learnt the local language and spent two years living with the Trobriand people (see maps no.1 and 2). He later did work in Queensland.

Reading 6 is in fact a major set of excerpts from *Argonauts* which will be used in turn at various points here and in section 3. In order to get a basic idea of social and economic life in a traditional society, you should read it all the way through first: the different sections will be discussed in detail later.

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Read Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (excerpts), reading 6.

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It is necessary to make a few brief introductory remarks. The entire book is focussed around the institution called the *kula*, which is explained to some extent in reading 7. Basically, the kula is a phenomenon that has long interested anthropologists and sociologists because it involves forms of behaviour which do not make sense according to Western notions of rational economic behaviour: many different tribal groups are bound together in periodic exchanges of objects of no obvious economic value - necklaces and armbands. Yet these so-called 'primitive' peoples treat these objects as extremely valuable, and have an immensely complex system of organising these exchanges, involving long and risky sea voyages around the South Pacific and taking about ten years to complete the entire cycle.

In seeking the logic of this activity, Malinowski locates the principle of exchange as fundamental not only to extraordinary events such as the kula but to many of the quotidian activities organising everyday life in traditional societies. But, like the kula, this is not exchange animated by economic incentives and principles but by principles of social cohesion. The kula is described briefly in reading 7.

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Read Karl Polanyi, 'Societies and economic systems' (excerpts), reading 7.

Re-read Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (excerpts), reading 6, p.1.

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Malinowski describes the building of a canoe for such an expedition, a task which in many respects does not differ from any canoe-building in the Trobriands and can function as a description of a 'work' activity. (You should of course bear in mind that a kula canoe is more special than an ordinary canoe and therefore its ambiguous 'work' character is highlighted.) In re-reading this page, try to find several different ways in which this work departs from the patterns of Western work activity identified above.

The object of SAQ 5 is to identify, on the one hand, how work activities seem intermingled with non-work activities and, on the other, how even the work practices themselves are irregular or fragmented.

SAQ 5

1. Describe in your own words how the two stages of canoe-building differ from each other.
2. What types of 'interruption' or irregularities are there in the canoe-building?

There are three points worth noting in this reading:

1. In fact, the first thing you probably noticed was simply the absence of those aspects of formal employment already noted - wages and temporal demarcations for work in the form of a working day, or working year.

The absence of temporal boundaries designating work-time in traditional societies, by contrast, allows two forms of 'interruption'. One work activity may be 'interrupted' by another work activity, so that the first lies uncompleted for a period - one of the reasons for this is that few workers are specialised workers, but have many different sorts of activities to do which will take them to different places and make competing demands on their time. This type of work orientation to immediate goals is often called 'task orientation'.

The other type of 'interruption' consists in the mingling of 'leisure' activities with work activities. This is clearly exacerbated by the absence of a clearly defined workplace and the type of work involved. In gathering fruit, roots, etc. in the forest, it might be difficult to separate out elements of pleasure and 'dallying' from the task of looking for food. Agricultural work also involves things like walking to the field which although clearly necessary, may also involve admiring the view or engaging neighbours in conversation about the weather (itself not irrelevant to agricultural concerns). For a modern employer of agricultural labour the problem does not exist at this conceptual level, since wages are paid for stretches of time but, minus wages and minus the measurement of time, there is obviously a problem of distinguishing work activities.

2. A second feature of work in 'traditional' societies is the uneven intensities of effort involved in different work activities, or in different stages of an operation. The first stage of canoe-building described in reading 6 was fairly slow and unconcentrated, taking 2-6 months, whereas the final stage involves 3-5 days of intense communal activity. Descriptions of work in modern industrial society often polemically represent the quality of that work as 'hard labour', as intensive - but this is misleading since, in industrial societies, hard manual labour is the exception rather than the rule. What is unremitting about work in industrial societies is rather its regular intensity, its measured and repetitive quality. By contrast, it is in 'traditional' societies that we find intense and excruciatingly hard labour - and also light, leisurely and unconcentrated labour. This is what is meant by referring to the 'uneven intensity' of work.

3. Finally, a third feature of work in traditional societies is what might be called long-term cycles of recurrence. What this means is that it takes a long time for the same activity to come round again. Hunting, for instance, is an activity which often depends on the migration patterns of animals and therefore will be seasonal and 'sporadic' in this sense. Agriculture is another example. In reading 4, Schwimmer emphasised such seasonal cycles - planting, weeding, pruning, harvesting, only 'come round' one or two times a year. And, as the Reynolds reading indicated (reading 2, p.2), there may also be social variations: it is not necessary to 'sit around' and wait for the crops to grow, so agriculture may be combined with nomadic migration patterns. These examples of long-term cycles of recurrence derive primarily from the fact that traditional societies are often more closely bound to the rhythms of natural cycles. But the canoe-building is also 'long-term' for social reasons, i.e., the kula-cycle.

These 'irregular' long-term cycles of recurrence for particular work activities contrast with the extremely short-term cycles involved in modern industrial jobs. Work on an assembly line or an office is 'regular' to the extent that it involves performing the same set of actions every few minutes.

Such patterns of work activity are often discussed as part of the problem of distinguishing work from leisure in traditional societies. Another way of identifying this problem is to describe 'work' in traditional societies as 'intermittent' or 'sporadic' as compared with work in modern Western societies. In fact both these characterisations of the problem are misleading.

Leisure is often said to be more valued in traditional societies: there is a greater control over one's own activities and a refusal to commit one's time to the regularities of industrial work practices. The Reynolds reading mentioned the long time taken over meals and unscheduled rest days. But, as we have already seen in section 2.1.1, leisure is a concept that only exists by contrast to regular work. To speak of 'leisure' in traditional societies would be to assume concepts such as 'time off' which do not make sense in a differently structured work routine.

Perhaps one could define 'leisure' in a different way, as simply doing certain activities which are 'obviously' not work - things like picking flowers, singing songs, etc. Yet, as we have seen, there is nothing intrinsic to any activities as such which makes them count as work or not. Flowers could constitute an item of diet, while songs often provide a way of co-ordinating work tasks by lifting morale and providing rhythms for the joint application of effort. Such things are not excluded from being work on any absolute classification of activities. They only count as work if they are socially organised into regular work routines. As we saw earlier, gardening as a hobby is an example of an activity which is not intrinsically non-work; yet it would not count as work unless it were available in a regular work practice.

Thus it is misleading to say that in traditional societies people value their 'time off' more highly than in industrial societies, or that they want more control. It is rather the absence of this frame of comparison, the fact that work in those societies cannot be distinguished from other activities using such criteria.

Let us now consider the other way of depicting the work routines in traditional societies - as 'sporadic', 'intermittent' or 'interrupted'. (Reynolds, reading 2, mentioned the interruption of work by 'distractions' such as hunting wallaby.) But this way of describing work in traditional societies is, of course, also relative to the organisation of work in modern Western societies, where work is continuous over set work-times and continues regularly throughout the year.

Both these attempts to characterise the temporal differences in work routines in traditional societies go wrong because they presuppose concepts from modern Western work routines. 'Leisure' essentially derives its meaning of 'time off' from regularised work. 'Intermittent', 'sporadic' or 'interrupted' also seem to suppose that regularised work routines are the norm. Clearly there are some questions here: 1) How do we group together certain activities as work in societies without clear temporal signposts for work? 2) How can we analyse 'work' in a society which does not seem to have a concept of work as a general term? These are questions which will be addressed more fully in section 3.

SAQ 6

Look back quickly to reading 4. Drawing on sections 2.1-2.3 explain briefly why it does not make sense to say that in traditional societies such as the Trobriands, or precontact Orokaiva, 'people spend their days working'.

2.4 Work and social practices in traditional societies

In this section, we shall discuss another way in which work in traditional societies is not 'separated off' as a distinct domain, and hence seems intermingled with apparently non-work elements. Let us begin by going back briefly to the Malinowski reading (6).

How are we to regard the 'interruptions' of magical rituals associated with canoe-building? Are they part of the work of building a canoe? These might seem the most easily dismissable of 'work' elements, functioning only to break up the constructive activity of building.

In fact the magical 'interruptions' can be shown to be integral to the work process both in a technical and a social sense. Malinowski makes a distinction between the kula magic and other sorts of magic. The kula magic is tied to the logic and rhythm of the kula-cycle, one example of the long-term cycles involved in 'traditional' societies. These cycles are not governed by the 'economic' rationale of the production process; decisions are made according to the social logic of the kula-cycle. Malinowski claims that the apparent 'work process', i.e., the canoe-building itself, cannot be isolated from the entire kula-cycle; equally the kula-cycle does not begin with the expedition. 'The construction of the canoe is the first link in the chain of the kula performances. From the moment that the tree is felled to the return of the oversea party, there is one continuous flow of activity, following in regular succession' (reading 6, p.1).

One of the obvious implications is that the decision of when to build a canoe is not governed by economic considerations, such as the sort of calculation that might be involved in a Western factory 'launching' a new line of mass-produced canoes for sale.

Second, the kula magic (various rituals to ensure the success of the expedition by imparting the canoe-to-be with properties of lightness and swiftness) is also part of the continuous - i.e., non-interrupted - flow of activity which make up the entire kula-cycle.

At this point the kula logic is actually in competition with (our) work logic because it disputes whether the terms 'sporadic' or 'intermittent' can be used at all. A 'sporadic' or 'irrational' timing for building the canoe is, in a different description, a perfectly logical kula related decision. The 'interruptions' of magical rituals are simply part of the series of events necessary to the expedition. And to the extent that the kula expedition is a socially instituted activity, so are all the rituals accompanying it. This is a general sense in which the non-separation of a domain of economic calculation from the set of social 'logics' and practices means that a magical ritual cannot be dismissed as irrelevant to a 'work' process. Later we shall make a closer connection between exchange relations, social relations and magical rituals involved in work techniques.

In the description of building any sea-going canoe, there were other sorts of magic involved besides kula magic. For instance the preparation of the log involved driving out the *tokway* spirit. Here again, magic might be something we would regard as easily distinguishable from any proper notion of work, excepting possibly the kula magic, which connects the canoe-to-be with its future use on the expedition. But these other sorts of magic seem peripheral to the business of simply constructing a canoe, where building involves specifiable material activities and recognisable technological improvements.

In fact it is difficult to separate magical rituals from technical questions. If you recall Course HP01b *Traditions*, you will remember that traditions were described using the metaphor of recipes for doing things. One of the features of the use of tools, or other technical activities which we find in the Trobriands (and also in another Melanesian example in reading 8), is that magical rituals, as well as ensuring success, or driving away spirits, etc., are also partly ways of coding technical 'lore', that is, they produce 'recipes' for performing certain sorts of technical performances. Magic is not just an additional 'frill': magical knowledges are an important mechanism passing on traditional skills.

Indeed, this coding of technical knowledge in ritual is one of the reasons why traditional societies are called 'traditional': a greater proportion of life is organised by traditional 'recipes'.

In the following reading, Frances Panoff describes horticultural practices in another Melanesian society in the mountains of East New Britain (see map no.1). The Maenge are also a traditional society, employing a system of shifting agriculture.

Panoff is particularly concerned with the way the magical aspects of gardening are bound up with technical and also social organisation. As you go through the reading try to identify these two aspects.

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Read Frances Panoff, 'Some facets of Maenge horticulture' (excerpts), reading 8.

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SAQ 7

Panoff states that 'success in gardening openly demonstrates the efficiency of one's magic'.

1. What technical knowledges are connected to magic?
2. What social advantages are connected to magic?

Michel Panoff, who has also written about Maenge horticulture, has argued that the Maenge word 'toil' *(milali)* designates gardening work involving 'pacts' or obligations. Such pacts could be with other individuals (e.g. working in someone else's garden because they are related to you) or even include 'negotiations' with nature. Such a pact with nature might explain the fertility of the soil, mentioned above in its purely technical sense. But this other sense does not see fertility as deriving from measurable mineral traces, soil type, decayed vegetable matter. He says 'This fertility of the soil, which a fine smell indicates, is not at all given, i.e., by the physical qualities of the earth: it is necessary to induce it and, once obtained, to guard it: it requires a certain number of efficaciously co-ordinated and considered operations. These operations are magical... It is necessary to render to the earth the *milali* of humans, i.e., to re-pay the debt for the harvest.' (1977, pp.10-11)

Thus, magical rituals link up technical and social processes. This example is important in disputing further that characterisation of work or labour given by Marx as a transformation of nature, involving objects and instruments of labour. To the extent that those instruments - techniques such as firing and other technical knowledges - are bound up with specific social practices, they cannot be isolated from them in a general definition of work. But the concept of the transformation of nature itself appears also as a concept specific to modern Western society. 'Nature' in the Maenge case involves identification with, as well as differentiation from, humans. It is possible to have relations with nature that are analogous to social relations (pacts, debts).

This 'identification' with nature can be indicated by returning to Frances Panoff's descriptions. She shows that individual plants are given individual names like people, that human beings are given the names of plants. This is intelligible because the taro is seen as having a soul, a soul which also explains a number of 'technical' features of the plant - its weight, its nutritional value. This soul also is invoked in funeral rites, when the dead person is laid out with taro, banana, sugar-cane. As the human soul leaves only a husk behind, the same is true of the plants: both human and vegetable souls will go to a new village.

Identification is also involved in the construction of the myth of the wise and foolish gods mentioned by Panoff. The clever god is associated with the valued types of taro and also with all the techniques of wise cultivation. The successful gardener will be one who imitates this hero: thus identification with the supernatural world allows the imparting of techniques for cultivation.

This discussion of the use of magical rituals in work practices has involved introducing some possibly unfamiliar sorts of ideas and, in their details, they are optional for the understanding of this course overall: you will not be asked, for instance, to explain Maenge concepts of nature. However, this section has also introduced concepts which will be important later:

- the idea of work as organised by social relations and obligations which are rather different from those in modern Western societies.

- the idea of technology as bound up with social rituals and beliefs.

You should also note that the term 'technology' is used in quite an extended sense in this study guide, to cover not only the use of tools but also technical knowledge and learned techniques of using the human body.

2.5 Terms for work

The following group of readings (9-11) all concern linguistic changes in words for work, or companion words for work such as 'toil', 'job', etc., in Europe from the twelfth to the twentieth centuries. The readings indicate that in premodern Europe, just as in traditional societies like Orokaiva, there was no general term for work at all. This parallel allows us to make a connection between 1) the conceptual problem of finding a general definition of work; 2) the absence of modern Western 'key features' of work in traditional societies; 3) the idea that the economy appears as a domain distinct from personal and social life in modern Western societies. The connection is this: the formation of work in its modern form, identified by the key features of definite work-times, workplaces and paid employment is what allows a general concept of work to be formed. In order to get to this argument, it will be necessary to deal more systematically with these readings; otherwise they will just appear as a jumble of different vocabularies. However, begin by reading quickly through them.

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Read - Raymond Williams, 'Work' (excerpts), reading 9
- Maurice Godelier, 'Work and its representations' (excerpts), reading 10
- John Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (excerpts), reading 11.

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SAQ 8

1. Given that there are no general words for 'work' or for 'worker' in premodern Europe, go through the readings listing in chronological order (by century) what other terms and concepts are used. Then go back over the list underlining the terms referring to the agents involved rather than the work process itself. Compare this list with your own list constructed in the preliminary exercise to see how many archaic or traditional meanings linger on today.
2. Think about terms such as 'carpenter' or 'printer'. Do you think they still carry social connotations as well as being names of trades?
3. Taking these readings, and drawing on the arguments made in section 2 of the study guide, explain why the general concept of work is something that has emerged with industrial capitalist societies.

Previous terms referring to aspects of the work process include, for instance, 'toil', which once designated a specific sort of action, a stirring motion. (Thus when the witches in *Macbeth* intone 'bubble, bubble, toil and trouble', they are referring to the motion of stirring the cauldron with the added metaphorical sense of stirring things into each other to produce (troublesome) effects.)

Both 'toil' and 'labour' then shift their meaning slightly, to refer to a quality of an activity, referring to the arduousness of work, particularly manual work. But toil and labour in this sense, the sense in which one might labour in the vineyard for 'seven long years', are not referring to work as a general type of activity itself. Not all work is hard work. Indeed, 'toil' does not refer to all manual work but only to those aspects of any kind of work which are arduous or physically demanding. At the same time, 'toil' would refer to more than we mean by work since it would refer to any kind of arduous activity, whether to do with earning a living or not.

Looking now at terms related to 'worker' (rather than 'work'), we find these are essentially terms for individual trades or professions. But, as in the case of terms such as 'master builder' or 'journeyman joiner' they would also indicate what stage of training, responsibility and independence the individual had attained. Some generalisations of these individual terms occur with usages such as 'manufacturer' or 'mechanic', grouping together certain occupations in terms of the way they produced their product. Finally, Williams claims, the convergence of words for 'work' and words for 'worker' is related to the formation of work as an economic concept, work as wage-labour, which he identifies as capitalist.

2.6 Concluding remarks: how to read the course

As has already been mentioned, the structure of this course is different from some of the other courses you have 'worked' through so far, since section 2, which you have just read, also introduces HP05b, *Work in Australia*. There you will find that some of the problems of defining work continue to provoke theoretical and political debate: the questions of who counts as unemployed, or the status of housework as work, are current issues discussed in HP05b. You will also find some of the other theoretical issues raised in HP05a taken up again and examined in more detail and contrasted with competing types of theoretical explanation. In particular, some of the basic elements of Marxist theory, introduced in HP05a, will be elaborated in HP05b in relation to the context of twentieth-century industrial disputes and the labour process. Marxist accounts which you will find in HP05a, section 4, contrasted with other historical accounts will, in HP05b, be contrasted to other types of sociological explanation of modern industrial societies. Finally, where HP05a tends to look backwards and sideways, looking at work in history and in traditional societies, HP05b will conclude by looking towards the future, assessing the directions of change in the quality and quantity of work in industrial societies like Australia in the 1980s.

There are some other ways in which *Work in History* is a little different from your previous courses. First, in covering section 2, you have already encountered most of the basic concepts to be explored in the rest of the course. Sections 3 and 4, therefore, can be seen essentially as posing the problems of work more systematically and by reference to the way work has been discussed in certain social theories and disciplines, i.e., history and the social sciences.

Second, much of the argument and exposition here is carried by the study guide rather than the readings. In order to answer SAQs, or to refresh your memory on particular points in the revision summaries in section 5, you will thus find that the study guide itself will be the appropriate place to look.

3 WORK IN TRADITIONAL SOCIETIES

3.1 Introduction

Section 2 argued that work was a recognisable category in modern Western societies insofar as it was separated out from other areas of life by various economic institutions specific to those. So far, we have considered some aspects of the wage system, the separate workplace and the specified work-time. Because work activities are paid, because they are carried out in a demarcated zone of activity, work is both obvious and general. Obvious in the sense that these conditions are specifiable and uniform; general in the sense that the term 'work' covers all different types of work and work activity as opposed to non-work or leisure.

By contrast, 'work' activities in traditional societies appeared as fragmented and intermingled with non-work activities, and this was reflected in vocabulary. While traditional societies had terms for specific tasks or specific work or non-work activities, none of the societies canvassed had any generic term 'work'. These difficulties in conceptualising work in traditional societies pose a problem for the social sciences which this section will investigate.

Let us begin by grouping three sources of the 'fragmented' quality of work in traditional societies:

- the absence of those economic institutions which make work recognisable in modern Western society (e.g. set work-hours and workplace, a wage);

- the presence of modern Western social practices, customs and institutions (magical ritual, social obligation);

- certain differences in the rhythms and quality of material life and use of technology (e.g. uneven intensities of effort, long-term cycles of recurrence).

The problem of these contrasts and discrepancies presents a theoretical choice: do we decide to jettison any claim that there is such a thing as 'work' in traditional societies? Or do we try to find a way of constructing a concept of work which can encompass these differences? Following the latter path involves certain difficult decisions - for instance, setting aside terminological evidence of the peoples concerned - to argue that there is something we can categorise as work in traditional societies despite the fact that those societies themselves may not display any conceptualisation of such a general concept. But of course this should not function as an excuse to impose our specific 'work logic' on societies with manifestly different work patterns.

Such investigation has been undertaken by economic anthropologists. You will have come across references to anthropology in Course HP01b, *Traditions*, where social practices such as ritual or rites of passage were examined. Anthropology is a discipline which to date has tended to concern itself primarily with analysing the social structures and practices of non-Western peoples (although as Course HP01b itself indicates, many of these analyses have proved useful in looking at Western societies as well). Economic anthropology is that branch of anthropology concerned specifically with the economic organisation of non-Western peoples, or traditional societies. In general, one can say that economic anthropologists would regard as work only those activities which pertained to economic life. They therefore seek to describe what is specific to the economies of traditional societies.

The following account of economic anthropology links the growth of interest in the economies of traditional societies to Western aid and modernisation programmes. Considering Orokaiva and Australia in section 2, we found examples of contact between traditional and industrial societies. Economic anthropology has been important in exploring what tends to go wrong in such attempts to introduce Western work practices.

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Read George Dalton, *Traditional Tribal and Peasant Economies: an Introductory Survey of Economic Anthropology* (excerpts), reading 12.

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The following SAQ concerns the section of the reading entitled 'Traditional tribal and peasant economies'.

SAQ 9

1. List the four ways in which tribal or peasant economies are said to differ from each other, listing what would fall into each category.
2. List the three ways in which tribal or peasant societies are said to be more like each other than they are like a country such as the United States in the twentieth century?

We shall not be dealing in detail with these systems of differences and similarities. However, it is important for you to have a general idea of what is meant by 'traditional' societies (tribal and peasant), and different kinds of economies involved. In section 2, you have already come across two examples of agriculturalists engaged primarily in settled horticultural activities, growing yams or taro (the Maenge, the Trobrianders), and one example of nomadic hunter-gatherers (Australian Aborigines).

These differences in economy are most clearly related to the third area listed above in characterising work 'irregularities' in traditional societies. What was termed the 'rhythms and quality of material life' are largely (although not exclusively) the effect of factors such as physical isolation, limited diet, the constraints of primary activities (hunting, agriculture, fishing, etc.) and low output. Thus the uneven intensities of effort required at different points would reflect the varying demands of a hunting economy, for instance. An agricultural economy would also display some long-term cycles of recurrence.

3.2 Work and the economy

While Dalton's account is very informative in indicating the varieties of economic life, it does not spell out all the issues involved in referring to the economy to stake out what shall count as work. Indeed, as we shall see, any such investigation is controversial for the simple reason that, within the social sciences, the definition of an economy and of its relation to other social institutions is a matter of dispute.

We shall not here attempt to give a definition of the economy in general nor to argue for one theory against another. We will consider the term 'the economy' to cover a set of assumptions. We will assume that economic relations concern both production and distribution, bearing in mind that these concepts may refer to very different things in traditional societies. That is, if we identify work roughly with the area of production, then in speaking of an economy, we are assuming that production and distribution must be linked to each other in some way.

What is produced, the 'product', is then 'distributed'. These two categories are linked because economic anthropologists assume that, for production to occur, there will be exchange and distribution not only of goods but of labour and whatever else is necessary for production - just as, for distribution to occur, production must be socially organised. The two elements then penetrate each other. To analyse work in traditional societies, we must be prepared to consider the organisation of the whole economy.

Obviously in using the terms 'production' and 'distribution' we are already presuming some concepts of the economy. For the moment, let us simply say that economic anthropologists begin from some notion of economic organisation as 'the medium whereby food, clothing, shelter, tools and objects of wealth of a less utilitarian kind are secured to the service of man' (Firth, 1959, p.16).

'Production', therefore, concerns the system in which such objects are produced, while 'distribution' concerns their system of circulation in society, as well as the allocation of the means of production and distribution.

3.2.1 The market and the economy

Many economists and economic anthropologists, unlike Dalton, essentially equate the economy with the concept of the market. 'The market' refers first of all to certain institutions, such as money, banks, the stock market, systems of credit and, of course, marketplaces themselves. Second, 'the market' refers to the use of the market principle (i.e., the idea that distribution and hence production are organised according to supply and demand).

In the following reading you will find an account of what is meant by a market and a market economy. You will also find that Polanyi mentions a range of traditional societies and groups them together as distinct from market societies.

* * *

Read Karl Polanyi, *Primitive, Archaic and Modern Economies* (excerpts), reading 13.

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Polanyi's conception of the market indicates that production and distribution take place through an endless series of sales and purchases. Goods exchange through the medium of money at what are called 'prices'. These 'prices' are the ratio at which goods and services exchange, expressed in money terms. That is to say, if I am paid $30 a week, my labour is equivalent in value to an article which itself costs $30, for instance, 5 litres of white wine.

This type of organisation is held to characterise Western societies in two respects. 1) All economic life is organised by it. That is to say, all production and distribution is organised through and by the market. 2) Only economic life is organised by it. We don't organise marriage or politics on a market basis.

The economy, then, is the market for goods and services. This must be understood not only to include articles of consumption - food, clothing, housing, etc. - but everything which is necessary for the production of these goods. This will include what economists call 'intermediate goods' - machinery, raw materials, etc. It will also include, as we have seen, the labour required for that production. The wage system, then, is an element of a market economy. Like everything else, labour has a price. The price workers are paid determines the amount of consumption goods which workers can buy. For employers, how much they have to pay out in wages enters their decisions as to how to price what they have produced. This will affect the price and supply of goods which in its turn will affect the demand for the goods. Supply and demand will affect each other and the result will be a set of prices for all goods in the economy, including labour. The market is thus viewed first as a mechanism of distribution of goods and services, balancing supply and demand. But it is also seen as a rationale determining production, with demand calling forth the production of particular types or quantities of goods or services. Changes in supply or demand will result in changes in prices. To many economists, this system, 'the market', is a self-regulating mechanism through which the decisions of all participants are put into a relation with each other.

Against those, such as Marxists, who contest this particular concept of the economy as inadequate, defenders of the market will say two things. First, that the market is of course only a model or an idealisation which is necessarily somewhat distorted in reality. Second, that modern economies are too distorted, and that state and trade union 'interventions' in the otherwise 'free' market are interfering with healthy economic life.

Market economies, however 'distorted', may be contrasted with societies which have no apparent market mechanism to regulate the production and distribution of goods and services. Polanyi thus defines traditional societies as 'marketless'. In the case of traditional societies, the problem is further complicated by the presence of other social institutions and their relation to the economy.

SAQ 10

'Self-regulating' refers both to the absence of outside interference and to the capacity of a market to maintain the production and distribution of goods and services via a single mechanism.

1. List some examples of social practices and institutions which are regarded by market economists as 'outside interferences' or distortions. (pp.1-2)
2. What is the mechanism by which markets are said to be regulated?
3. What other name is there for the 'price' of labour?
4. Identify two different senses of 'economic' used by Polanyi on p.1.

> In marketless communities...it is kinship or tribal filiation...that dictate how land, labour and products are produced and allocated. Therefore ... transactions ... are invariably accompanied by a description of social and cultural matters which may appear bizarre, indeed even whimsical to economists. The important feature of such communities is that they have no economy that can be analysed apart from social organisation.
>
> (Bohannan and Dalton eds., 1965, p.1)

Such social and cultural matters would seem bizarre precisely because, as we have seen, the economy in a market society is defined by the relation of buying and selling and hence, by definition, by the absence of any other element. Indeed, as we have seen, market economists call the introduction of other forms of decision-making a 'distortion' of the market. The economy in the sense of the market is by definition separate from other forms of social relations.

This would explain why we have difficulty in talking about work in traditional societies. For it is part of the definition of a market society that a distinct area of society emerges called the economy in which work is paid for under conditions we call employment in what we call a workplace during what we call the working day. The difficulties we found in section 2 in specifying 'work' and in sections 3.2 and 3.3 in locating production and distribution in traditional societies would, on this view, be an effect of the absence of a market for goods and services, including labour.

But, further, as the above quotation indicates, 'social and cultural matters' further complicate the question. Economic life appears to overlap with kinship organisation, with religion and with the way in which social cohesion is linked to certain symbolic relations.

Clearly a number of different questions will have to be sorted out in order to appreciate the issues raised by Polanyi (and also by Dalton, who belongs to the same 'substantivist school' of anthropology). But, before separating out these questions, it will be useful to give a more precise picture of the ways in which market economists have conceptualised traditional societies.

In the following brief reading, Claude Meillassoux outlines and criticises two different positions taken by economic anthropologists on the question of the economy, the market and social institutions in traditional societies. We shall refer to the first as the 'primitive mentality' approach and the second as economic functionalism.

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Read Claude Meillassoux, '"The economy" in agricultural self-sustaining societies' (excerpt), reading 14.

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SAQ 11

Outline, in your own words, the different conclusions of the two approaches.

3.2.2 The 'primitive mentality' approach

The first approach, which we shall call the 'primitive mentality' approach, finds the absence of a market and therefore judges that traditional societies have no economy. In fact, such a view would be regarded by anthropologists today as rather old-fashioned. It is not unlike other old-fashioned Western ways of characterising non-Western peoples - certain institutions of Western culture, such as the Christian religion or a police force, were regarded as the universal attributes of civilisation and their absence seen as the absence of civilisation.

In this case what is missing are two features of market societies. There is nothing, first of all, which even resembles a market: objects of 'need' do not circulate through society as objects which are bought and sold. Secondly, individuals do not calculate how to get as much as possible for as little toil and trouble as possible. Putting these two things together, we can say that such societies lack a market where the term 'market' refers, as we have seen, to a way of organising production and distribution through a system of calculations whose total effect is a system of prices which obey the laws of supply and demand. This lack of 'economic' organisation produces the judgement that, 'at the economic level, primitive man was not quite a man since he was not "homo economicus"' (Meillassoux). Thus, although this view might seem to be like Polanyi's in regarding traditional societies as 'marketless', the premise here is 'no market = no economy'. Polanyi, on the other hand, wants to find a broader notion of the economy.

Further, as the name 'primitive mentality approach' suggests, the presence of unfamiliar rituals, traditions and behaviours 'confirms' the view of traditional societies as not quite human. Such practices are not only unintelligible and hence 'irrational' from a market point of view - since they do not appear to be motivated or organised on economic principles - they are also unfamiliar because of being non-Western social organisations. The apparent unintelligibility of these organisations and practices led to the notion that there was a distinct 'primitive mentality', essentially confused and ignorant, very simple but also distorted by elementary fears and superstitions. By contrast, one of the major tasks of anthropology has been to demonstrate the logic of such systems, such as kinship, a logic that is highly complex and systematic.

3.2.3 Economic functionalism

The second approach identified by Meillassoux, which we shall call 'economic functionalism', takes the opposite tack, lighting on 'resemblances' between Western and non-Western societies and 'discovering' in them all sorts of modern Western institutions and practices, albeit in a 'distorted' or disguised form. Some of the more enthusiastic exponents of this view have compared certain social institutions in traditional societies to Wall Street speculation, speaking of 'interest', 'making a killing on the market' in the context of social institutions without money, never mind systems of credit or joint stock companies.

Often the presumption behind such comparisons is the idea that all societies, be they traditional or modern, must fulfil certain functions in order to be societies at all. This identity of functions is what makes all societies comparable, and a comparison will consist in identifying the functions and describing how they are fulfilled in the different societies.

Sometimes these are institutions such as marriage or other alliances, by which the social function of social cohesion is produced. Sometimes, as in the case we are dealing with, it is a concern with how economic functions are fulfilled.

However, the problem is: What is to count as an 'economic function'? Meillassoux shows that the definition of an economic function in this type of argument is itself drawn from a very particular view of what has come to be our own economic system, i.e., the market.

A further problem with functionalist accounts, as Meillassoux points out, is that they tend to handle the question of differences between, in this case, modern and traditional societies in terms of an evolution or a development from the simple to the complex. This type of argument always begs the question, since the perceived end point 'the fully developed market' always predefines the evolutionary path. What is it exactly that underlies the movement from simple to complex within a single economic rationality? As Meillassoux notes, this results in a form of historical description of the economy showing how the institutions of the market have their origin in the organisation of traditional societies. What it conceals is that such a point of view rests upon a very particular assumption of what the market is and what functions it fulfils. Why should we assume that traditional societies are in any sense simpler? Why should we assume that there is only one form of economic rationality?

In a way economic functionalism is merely the mirror image of the 'primitive mentality' approach. There, traditional society was defined by reference to the absence of the features which were presumed to organise modern economies. Here, those features are detected, albeit in a simpler and earlier stage of development. In both cases 'they' have been defined by reference to 'us'.

As Meillassoux notes, economic functionalism comes up against the paradox that some of the 'simple' economic features which should be present in traditional societies are not there at all, while some of the stages which should not be there (because they belong to a 'higher' stage of development) are present but not organised according to our economic logic. In the following reading, Malinowski is pointing to just this paradox.

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Read Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (excerpts), reading 6, pp.2-10.

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SAQ 12

Malinowski finds in Trobriand society two 'higher' or more complex economic phenomena which, on the functionalist view, should not be there at all. What are these phenomena? What were the expected 'simpler' phenomena which are not found? What is Malinowski's explanation?

Malinowski is speaking as a social observer who can easily see that, if wealth can be defined as a surplus, then a surplus of yams is certainly in evidence. He remarks on the vast accumulation and display of yams, the social prestige associated with them and the elaborate rules regarding their transfer. Equally he can point to the fact that, far from the Trobrianders being at the 'stage' of individual (or household) consumption, 'the whole of tribal life is permeated by a constant give and take'.

However, more is at stake than a simple counter-example. For Malinowski also shows that in neither case do these 'economic' forms, wealth and exchange, follow the expected rationality of economic functionalism. Thus the yams are accumulated - but not for future use, that is, not in order to preserve as much foodstuff as possible. On the contrary, in order to maintain the display, yams are allowed to rot in the storehouse. On the other hand, the Trobrianders go to immense trouble to bear their yams to their relatives-in-law or chiefs without even having saved enough for themselves. As the title of a famous article once asked, 'Why doesn't everyone eat their own pigs?' - or, in this case, yams.

Indeed, from a market economic point of view many aspects of Trobriand life seem to display an inverted logic. We have already seen how the kula expedition involves immensely complicated calculations and risky voyages to exchange objects of no obvious material value. In this passage, Malinowski describes 'economic monstrosities' too valuable to trade. Indeed, the whole logic of gift and counter-gift does not make sense in purely economic terms. The relation between economic and social organisation will be further discussed in section 3.4.

We can now spell out the different questions that have to be considered:

1. Can we find a broader concept of the economy than the market, one that could also encompass all the different types of material or economic life described by Dalton in reading 12?

2. What relation is there between the economy and the types of social relations and institutions found in traditional societies?

Section 3.3 will consider the first question and section 3.4 the second.

3.3 Subsistence, needs and reproduction

We do not propose here to give a complete or watertight definition of the economy. What we shall do is to lay down some minimum conditions of what an economy must do. Begin by looking back at your answer to SAQ 10 and quickly glance again at what Polanyi identifies as 'economic' in a wider sense.

Polanyi, as we saw, referred loosely to a non-market sense of an economy: 'No society could, naturally, live for any length of time unless it possessed an economy of some sort.' We must now explore what might be meant by this and how a society could 'live', that is, reproduce itself, by means of its social motivations, securing what we shall call its needs.

What are these basic needs which must be fulfilled in order that 'a society shall live for any length of time'? For if we could define a set of such needs, it might be possible to frame an acceptable notion of work and the economy. Indeed, this is the basic means of picking out 'work' in traditional societies - whatever else might count as work, at least those activities which produce subsistence may count as work. However, as the Malinowski reading indicated clearly, it is no simple matter to decide what needs are and in what sense economic life is organised to fulfil them. Thus, we shall have to explore a number of qualifications and complications.

This notion of a minimum set of human needs is spelled out more fully in the following reading from George Dalton.

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Read George Dalton, *Traditional Tribal and Peasant Economies: an Introductory Survey of Economic Anthropology* (excerpts), reading 15.

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SAQ 13

1. What are the two sorts of basic economic needs Dalton finds that 'all economies have in common'?
2. What are the mechanisms by which these needs are provided for?
3. Why would specifying such needs allow us to define what work is in traditional societies?

It is not uncommon to find such definitions of needs, particularly individual biological ones - every individual's natural human needs for food, shelter, warmth, a set of needs defined by apparently unalterable physiological or biological requirements, without which a person would die. Can such a set of individual natural needs tell you what the minimum economic requirements of a society will be? Let us examine more closely this idea of a basic or minimum set of needs.

Consider the idea of a minimum need, defined in physiological terms. It is a proportion, a relation which tells you that if you expend a certain amount of energy you will need to replace it. But physiology or biology doesn't tell you how much energy to expend; levels of energy expenditure are largely socially determined. All that physiology gives as a minimum is the possibility of coma and death.

Social and cultural prescriptions also enter into the determination of which sorts of food or shelter are to be produced and these involve preferences which cannot be derived from a purely physiological notion of need. Not only can the same energy requirements be fulfilled by a wide range of different types of food with different production requirements, but it is well-known from studies of poverty that individuals will also count as basic needs things like tea which have no energy value at all. Yet they will sacrifice other things, apparently demanded on a subsistence basis, in order to meet these 'needs'. Reference to basic subsistence needs may work as long as it is plausible to argue that people behave 'as if' they used this concept of need to order their lives, but obviously this is not consistently the case. On the other hand, not all needs are fulfilled by work or economic relations anyway. Oxygen, for instance, is supplied without price or work. So it is a basic subsistence need which does not help define an economic zone.

A further problem with the idea of a fixed set of natural needs is raised by Marshall Sahlins, whose *Stone Age Economics* (of which reading 16 is an excerpt) has produced much controversy. Sahlins is analysing (Australian) hunter-gatherers - you might want to refer back to reading 12 to remind yourself of another example.

This reading is part of Sahlins' attempt to disrupt some basic economists' assumptions about traditional societies, particularly those represented as miserably eking out a bare subsistence with a maximum of effort. Provocatively, he refers to such nomadic hunter-gatherers as 'the original affluent society'. The economists' premise he seeks to undermine is the assumption that everyone will try to maximise their happiness, and that any society living on the brink of starvation must do so because that is the best they can do. Sahlins' counter-hypothesis obviously could be read in a very reactionary way, as stating that poor people may in fact have chosen to be poor. His theory has also been criticised for attributing to nomadic hunter-gatherers concepts of modern Western economics.

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Read Marshall Sahlins, *Stone Age Economics* (excerpts), reading 16.

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SAQ 14

1. According to Sahlins, why can apparently subsistence societies be referred to as 'the original affluent societies'?
2. What similar phenomenon of 'underconsumption' was described by Malinowski in reading 6, p.3?

We have already seen that needs may be socially raised above an apparent physiologically defined minimum. Now, according to Sahlins, it also seems that needs may be lowered by a sort of social consensus. And, as noted above, just how a society decides to fulfil those needs is not determined by the needs as such - although if you refer back to Dalton in reading 12 you could consider what kind of constraints would determine the items by which a society fulfilled its needs. Climate, level of technology, interaction with other societies would all have some effects on, say, what food items constitute diet.

There is another point raised by specifically Marxist economic anthropologists who accept the basic principle that a society must at least be able to satisfy the minimum (socially determined) needs of its individual members. Any society must have an economy which can at least provide the 'necessary labour' to maintain its individual members. But is this enough to maintain a society?

The following reading is difficult, but it is also a 'classic' text. It is taken from a polemical attack by Karl Marx on a pamphlet by another socialist, George Lassalles, outlining what a socialist society should be like. This pamphlet, known as the Gotha programme, demanded in particular that individuals should receive a fair and equal distribution of all the goods and services they produce. As Lassalles put it 'the proceeds of labour belong undiminished with equal right to all members of society'. Marx then proceeds to show how this is an inadequate picture of social provision because the word 'undiminished' reveals a naive understanding of individual and social needs and the costs of satisfying them. To understand the main argument you should recall the way in which Dalton, in reading 15, referred to the 'continual, repetitive (and therefore structural) provisioning' which would supply needs.

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Read Karl Marx, 'Critique of the Gotha Programme' (excerpts), reading 17.

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Marx begins by pointing out that there are members of all societies who do not work. In class societies, Marx argues elsewhere, many of these non-workers are able to live off the work of others because the non-workers control the means of production. But even in a socialist society, as in a traditional society which is also not a class society, there will still be non-workers, the old, the sick, the young. Most societies assume that the needs of all their members, and not just those of the individuals who work, must be provided for.

Second, Marx considers those costs which a society must meet it if is to maintain itself. On the one hand, there are the costs of replacing or expanding material used in production: equipment wears out, crops must be rotated, etc. On the other hand, if a society does meet the basic needs of its members it must have some sort of structure to do so, some means of distributing products. There will be costs incurred in maintaining such a structure but since it is necessary to meet the needs, it is also necessary to maintain the structure which makes that possible.

With all these qualifications we can allow the notion of provision of needs to demarcate what shall count as an economy, and hence what shall count as work. Work may be defined as all those activities necessary for the maintenance of all the individuals in a society as well as the society itself. The following SAQ will ask you to draw on this section of the study guide.

SAQ 15

Summarise all the factors which must be taken into account to use need as a means of specifying the basic work or labour necessary to maintain a society.

3.4 Social relations and the economy

We thus have some notion of what 'all economies have in common', that is, how traditional societies can be regarded as possessing economies even in the absence of a market. Work can therefore be identified as those activities necessary not only for the provision of individual needs of all members of society, including non-labourers, but also for the maintenance of production and society. But this still does not explain those 'irrationalities' of societies such as the Trobriands - the excess yam production, the giving away of one's food to one's relatives. At this point one should look again at those social practices and institutions we have already mentioned.

This also brings us to the second question we proposed at the end of section 3.2.3 of what relation there is between the economy and the social practices described. These social practices are not just 'present' but, as in the case of technology, magic and social obligation, are actually enmeshed with the economy (see reading 8).

Let us begin by casting a glance at this process of 'giving away' one's food to one's relatives, as described at length by Malinowski in reading 6. Without entering into an explanation of kinship, a few observations can be made. First, the notion of 'relatives' or 'kin' in societies like the Trobriands is rather different from ours: it is a much more extended network involving extensive sets of mutual obligations. The word mutual is important. Since practically everyone is someone else's appropriate relative, everyone will also receive yams as well as giving them away. (And, if you remember the orphan in the Panoff reading (8), cut off from access to knowledge of gardening as well as provisions, you will realise how important kinship is in such societies.) In other words, kinship operates as a means of distributing goods to satisfy needs. Second, the logic of this distribution need not be an obviously economic one - it is not a market nor based on market principles - but will follow the social logic governing kinship obligations. Equally goods are not distributed in economic ratios, that is, they are neither seen as labour equivalents nor calibrated according to individual needs. Rather, quantities of goods received would vary with one's social status. (Similarly in our society, parents are expected to give far more to children than they receive from them.) In traditional societies, while the kinship system performs economic functions it does not have in industrial societies, it does not perform only or primarily economic functions, such as distributing yams. The economy is thus said to be 'embedded' in the social system.

(There are certain problems with this account which can only be hinted at here. Briefly, it assumes that the social logic will also always succeed in being an economic logic, by however extravagant a route. However, unless economic mechanisms have some way of asserting themselves and guaranteeing self-fulfilment, there is no good reason why a social logic should always manage also to organise economic life successfully.)

The following reading attempts to characterise the relationship between social practices and economic institutions in traditional societies like the Trobriands. It specifically addresses the question of work in relation to the 'social setting'. Udy is describing what Polanyi described as a 'submerged' economy. Before you read Udy, go back and look at p.1 of Polanyi (reading 13). Udy begins by describing how families or kinship systems can be the basis of 'recruiting' or organising work. As a network of mutual obligations, kinship relations can also include obligations to work. (In the next part of reading 6, we shall find Malinowski describing this system of labour recruitment and organisation in operation in the Trobriands.) Secondly, Udy goes on to consider the place of technology in societies where economic life is organised by non-economic means. Udy's notion of a 'cultural prescription' governing the performance of technology is not unlike the notion of recipe used in HP01b as an analogy for traditions. You will recall the earlier descriptions of magical rituals governing the use of tools and in reading 19 we shall consider another example.

In general, Udy distinguishes between work organisation which is directly concerned to achieve its 'production objective' (i.e., produce the required good) and work organisation - as in the kinship based societies - which achieves its objectives indirectly in the course of filling social obligations. His depiction of technology runs parallel: it is either directly honed to its production target or placed in a more indirect relation to economic objectives via the 'general social setting'. This is what is meant by saying that in traditional societies, the economy is submerged or embedded in social institutions, while in industrial societies the economy appears as a separate domain.

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Read Stanley Udy, *Work in Traditional and Modern Society* (excerpts), reading 18.

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To give more substance to the rather abstract nature of Udy's text, we shall move on directly to reading 6 (pp.11-12) and reading 19. This will allow us to apply Udy's notion of work oriented primarily to the social setting, first, to the recruitment and organisation of labour in a traditional society and, second, to the use of technology.

3.4.1 The division of labour in traditional societies

In this next part of reading 6, Malinowski points to a number of respects in which labour and other aspects of economic life are embedded in social relationships, whether these are matters of social standing, customary obligation to chief or relative-in-law or the ceremonial rites which add to the social scheme of duties. In particular, he is concerned to explain how the organisation of various types of communal labour is effected. Communal labour is one type of division of labour, sometimes referred to as a 'simple' division of labour because all that is required is the assembling of a workforce who will then perform identical tasks. Gardening or simple agriculture is a good example of this: the work team will all be planting or threshing, etc., side by side. Or they may all be exerting their effort on a common task. Malinowski contrasts this communal labour with what is often called a 'complex' division of labour when he describes the co-ordination of canoes in a fishing expedition, in which each canoe has 'an appointed task': here each boat is doing something different and their actions must be carefully co-ordinated. (We will return to the concept of division of labour again in sections 4.2.1 and 5.3.)

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Re-read Bronislaw Malinowski, *Argonauts of the Western Pacific* (excerpts), reading 6, pp.11-12.

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SAQ 16

1. Udy describes work organisation in traditional societies as oriented directly to the social setting, performing work 'automatically' as part of general social functioning.

   (a) How do aspects of the social setting organise work in the Trobriands?

   (b) How can work thus be said to be performed 'automatically'?

   (c) Referring to the study guide (pp.44-45), what problem is there with seeing economic operations 'automatically' performed by the social setting?

2. Why does Malinowski state that the distribution of food in connection with work cannot be considered as a payment? Restate this in terms of a more general notion of a wage-exchange (drawing on the study guide, section 2.2).

In fact, both work organisation and use of other technology are, in Udy's terms, oriented to 'the social setting' in traditional societies. As a result, the organisation is said to perform work 'automatically' as a result of 'its general social functioning'. Malinowski's account of communal labour would thus be an example of this, for 'work' is performed as part of the system of customary obligations between kin, a set of obligations which would also include many other non-economic relations.

3.4.2 Work and technology in traditional societies

As George Dalton pointed out (reading 12) much of the current interest in traditional societies stems from studying Western development schemes in the Third World, schemes which predominantly depend upon introducing new technology to effect economic growth and social change. Udy, too, is interested in such schemes and you probably noted in reading the excerpt that he was a pretty unequivocal supporter of introducing such technological development into traditional societies. But, he argues, such schemes tend to go wrong not because of any inherent fault in the new technology itself but because traditional societies have a different relation to all technology. The embedding of economic relations within social structures means that labour organisations and technology within such societies are particularly stable and resistant to change. The 'embedding' of tools and technical knowledge in magical and prestige relations is a clear example of this. It is these kinds of relations which Udy refers to as 'cultural values'.

Thus a technique can be at the same time a practical way of doing something, the embodiment of a religious principle and the fulfilment of a particular social obligation. Technological change is therefore resisted because changing a tool or technique would at the same time involve disrupting all those other relations (including even linguistic conventions, as we saw in the case of terms for work). Why should all these social relations be upset merely for technical reasons? By contrast, in industrial societies, the separation of the domain of production and distribution as a distinct economic sphere facilitates the implementation of endless technological changes, as we shall see in section 4 on the Industrial Revolution.

A second reason for the stability of technological practices in traditional societies derives from the way in which traditions are like recipes, as described in Course HP01b, *Traditions* (section 4.1.1). This means that technologies are not the application of general principles but are always tied to particular objects or ways of doing things. The use of technology in industrial societies may be contrasted to this in a number of respects but in order to do so it is necessary first to look a little more closely at the notion of technology itself.

We commented earlier (p.26) on the extended use of the term 'technology' in the study guide, to include not only tools but also technical knowledges and techniques. Indeed the simple and complex division of labour described in the last section is often referred to as the technical division of labour when the level of effectiveness and prescribed relation to the object of work is being considered (as opposed to the social means by which it is organised): in this respect the technical division of labour employed in different societies and activities might be assessed as a more or less efficient piece of equipment. But it is not even necessary to think of technology only by reference to the idea of a tool or solely as the effectiveness of the tool as such. In the following reading, a French anthropologist, Marcel Mauss, introduces the notion of body techniques.

* * *

Read Marcel Mauss, *Sociology and Psychology* (excerpts), reading 19.

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SAQ 17

1. Some of the body techniques Mauss describes concern the relation between the body and a tool or instrument while others are simply body techniques. Give an example of each.

2. Explain why English soldiers could not march to French tunes.

3. How do the hunting rituals described on p.3 contribute to the success of the hunt?

In sections 4 and 5 we shall be examining the displacement of old work habits and formation of new ones, habits not unlike those of the marching soldiers. These habits are associated with the industrial disciplines of factory production, and function as part of the new technology of the Industrial Revolution. Such techniques differ from the 'recipe' techniques of traditional societies in that, rather than being directed toward particular objects (the dingo, the possum) and involving different actions (running, tree climbing), these industrial body techniques have an overall similarity in being regular and repeated. Work takes on a uniform and even intensity. They are not concerned with rare and difficult feats of strength or dexterity but with producing what might be called a general habit of discipline, which extends even into the reformation of everyday conduct.

3.5 Conclusion

We began the examination of work in traditional societies by noting various types of differences from work in industrial societies, differences which even threatened the possibility of being able to give a definition of work which would describe both kinds of societies. Work in traditional societies was not paid, was not marked off into continuous work periods with clear boundaries. Work activities were irregular or fragmented and bound up with ritual and other social practices. When we turned to look at conceptions of the economy, at first this seemed to confirm the problem since traditional societies refused to display a market form.

However, looking at the question of the economy also allowed us to explore more basic notions of an economy, which did not regard the market as the sole index of economic life. We found that we could use a notion of fulfilling needs to demarcate an area of activity which could count as work - as long as it was recognised that needs were socially variable and that the concept of needs must also cover the work necessary for the distribution as well as the production of objects of need for all members of society. Also, it is necessary to remember that economies differ in the ways in which they go about this - traditional societies, as we said at the beginning of this section, depend to a large extent on what is called primary production - agriculture, hunting and gathering, fishing, etc. At least some of the irregularities of work in traditional societies derived from this difference in type of economy, since the cycles and rhythms dictated by the seasons or the migration of animals do not conform to the regularities of industrial production.

We then looked at the embedding of the economy in social organisation in traditional societies. These social organisations and practices were themselves quite different from those found in industrial societies. Sometimes this involves institutions which the establishment of our market abolished, for instance, forms of servitude such as slavery or serfdom which are linked to military or coercive powers. Sometimes they involve systems for which we normally think we have an equivalent, the kinship system and the Western family, but which in fact are substantially different. Therefore, the fact that in traditional societies the economic activity (work) is organised and performed by non-economic means produces the other sorts of temporal irregularities of work which makes it appear indistinguishable from non-work.

In short, we identified three types of differences:

- different types of economies
- different relations between economy and social organisation
- different social organisations.

We have also looked at a case in which new forms of work were introduced in a traditional society (Schwimmer, reading 4) and noted, with Udy (reading 18), that much more than just the patterns and technology of work are affected by such a change. In the following sections we shall therefore consider the nature of those changes in the making of the first industrial nation - the so-called 'Industrial Revolution' in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain.

TUTORIAL ONE

This tutorial will do two things:

1. Work through any SAQs or parts of the course that you have found difficult up to this point.

2. Consider the following two topics:

   (a) the reasons why it is difficult to find a definition of work which could apply to all societies, traditional and modern

   (b) the principal ways in which pre-industrial, non-Western economies differ both from one another and from contemporary industrial economies.

You will probably get more benefit from the discussion if you have thought about these topics beforehand and made your own list for each of them. You will also find this helpful if you do not intend to come to the tutorial.

4 THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

4.1 Introduction

This section will be dealing with the 'Industrial Revolution' - the term used by historians and social scientists to designate a major shift in the British economic and social structure which occurred between 1750 and 1850. This shift is often regarded as definitive in establishing the character of work in modern society, and indeed gives its name to so-called 'industrial' society.

It will thus be possible to draw out a set of contrasts with the organisation of work in traditional societies. But more is at stake than simply a contrast, for pre-Industrial Revolution Britain is often referred to as a 'traditional' society, and the Industrial Revolution as a transition from traditional to industrial society.

In the following reading, this transition is discussed largely in terms of the reorganisation of time around emerging industrial work, and this is consistent with the emphasis on time throughout the course. The reading is a long and justly famous article by the British historian E.P. Thompson, most noted for his book, *The Making of the English Working Class.* Although the article will not be discussed in any detail until section 5, it is important that you read it through now as a background to the Industrial Revolution and the idea of changes in work patterns and structures. Some of the issues which Thompson raises about the 'neutrality' of modernisation and development can obviously be connected to Schwimmer's discussion (reading 4) of the introduction of wages into Orokaivan society, as well as George Dalton's discussion of economic anthropology (reading 12) and Udy's account of introducing technological 'improvements' in so-called underdeveloped countries (reading 18). These questions are tangential to Course HP05a but are important political and theoretical issues.

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Read Edward Thompson, 'Time, work-discipline, and industrial capitalism' (excerpts), reading 20.

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Pre-industrial Britain is called a traditional society despite the existence of large-scale trade and commercial activities and the growth of towns. It is seen as traditional to the extent that subsistence agriculture is still the dominant means of livelihood. Equally the form and use of technology is minor in contrast to the technological developments associated with the Industrial Revolution. Hence the time rhythms and blurring of the distinction between work and life we have found characteristic of traditional societies.

Temporal irregularities also derive from that other feature of traditional societies, the 'embedding' of the economy in social relations. Social relations still organise much of working life in pre-industrial Britain, although it is not a social organisation in the form of a kinship system as we have examined it in the Trobriands, for instance. In fact a number of different social forms co-exist and interconnect, including the religious and political organisations characteristic of the feudal system. But they can all be said to share a characteristic reliance on notions of obligation and duties deriving from one's place in the social order. This could be as a member of an independent peasant family household obliged by paternal ties or as someone still under feudal requirements to perform labour services in exchange for land or hand over proportions of goods to the lord of the manor or to the church.

Finally, as Thompson emphasises, work is not marked off as something that is bought with a regular wage; accordingly, the products of work are not acquired by spending wages but by socially organised means of distribution such as the kinship system.

Industrial societies, by contrast, are societies in which industrial work predominates. They differ from traditional societies in two important respects:

1. A new kind of work: 'industry' strictly speaking refers to the large-scale manufacture of a wide range of subsistence and, increasingly, also non-subsistence goods by means of a sophisticated and powerful technology. Insofar as 'industry' in this sense is inseparable from the use of heavy machinery, 'industrial work' is usually extended to cover the extractive industries (e.g. mining) and also to refer to the overall effects of mechanisation on the labour process. These are all clearly related features which earn 'industrial societies' their name.

2. A new relation to the social setting: industrial work is separated off from the social setting and now functions as part of a distinct public economic domain, just as social relations are now separate and more private. This means that industrial activities are now organised according to directly economic principles of efficiency and profitability and this allows the rapid advance of industrial development, technological innovation and economic growth. The separation of distribution as well as production from social organisations means that much tighter and more direct interconnections exist between making goods and selling them.

   It also means a predominance given to those economically oriented 'values' within industrial society where, in effect, industry now predominates over the social setting. For instance, Thompson discusses the proliferation of consciousness of time as money. Thus, the rapidity of economic growth and technological orientation - both around work itself and as a set of cultural effects and values - are also connotations of the term 'industrial society'.

In the second background reading you will find a less eloquent but more systematic outline of the major features of the Industrial Revolution. Again, you should read it just to build up a general idea of the changes involved.

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Read Barry Jones, *Sleepers, Wake!* (excerpts), reading 21.

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In section 4 we shall look at the Industrial Revolution from two angles, first 'horizontally', as a set of interacting elements, and then 'vertically' as the chronological development of the factory system where those elements can be seen re-forming the nature of working life.

4.1.1 Central features of the Industrial Revolution

Let us set aside the associated general social changes (urbanisation, population growth) and concentrate on the growth of industry. The Industrial Revolution involves the application of new production techniques not only to already existing areas of work such as agriculture but to an ever-expanding range of production areas. Three main elements determining this process can be analysed:

1. Technology of the factory system:

   A rapid transformation in production techniques, embodied in the factory (typically located in or near cities), involving mechanical improvements, the use of new sources of power, as well as techniques for organising and disciplining labour.

2. Distribution and consumption:

   A growth in British domestic and foreign markets for the sale of British goods and the purchase of raw materials. The growth in domestic markets is associated with an increase in population as well as with improvements in the transportation system, notably railways but also canals and road systems. At the same time, British colonies provided cheap raw materials as well as an outlet for goods.

3. Class relations:

The formation of a class of industrial capitalists on the one hand - setting up and investing in industry - and, on the other, the industrial proletariat, wage-labourers working in the new industrial enterprises.

These changes are often illustrated by reference to the growth of the cotton industry in one region of north-west England, Lancashire, and centred in the city of Manchester. The following reading, from Eric Hobsbawm's *Industry and Empire* uses the cotton industry as a sort of emblem of the Industrial Revolution: the opening sentence announces, 'Whoever says Industrial Revolution says cotton.' (For 'import substitution', consult the Index.)

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Read Eric Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire* (excerpts), reading 22, pp.1-7.

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Questions 2, 3 and 4 in SAQ 18 relate in turn to the following issues: 1) technology of the factory system; 2) distribution and consumption; and 3) class relations.

SAQ 18

1. What combination of features makes Manchester the 'typical' industrial site for Hobsbawm? Why do other candidates for this status fail to be typical?
2. How did the Indian cotton industry affect Britain?
3. 'The cotton industry is important because of its sophisticated technology'. Is this statement true or false, according to Hobsbawm?
4. According to Hobsbawm (p.5), what business and technical skills were required by an industrial entrepreneur such as Robert Peel?

We shall refer back to the Hobsbawm reading to make further points in the following sections on technology, markets and class relations. However, it should also be evident that the Industrial Revolution is not just a set of factors or elements, but also their combination. Thus, we shall begin to build up some of these connections in the following sections.

4.1.2 Technological innovation

Perhaps the two most influential statements about the Industrial Revolution were made by the British historians Arnold Toynbee and Trevor Ashton. (Barry Jones, in reading 21, identified Toynbee as the first to use the term 'Industrial Revolution' in English.) It was Arnold Toynbee's *Lectures on the Industrial Revolution of the Eighteenth Century in England* (1884) which identified the Industrial Revolution with the four great inventions of the 1760s: Hargreaves' spinning jenny, Arkwright's water frame, Crompton's mule and Kelly's self-acting mule (as well as Watt's steam engine, discussed by Hobsbawm in reading 22, pp.1-2). Later, Trevor Ashton's *The Industrial Revolution* (1948) declared that the Industrial Revolution was not just 'a wave of gadgets'. The assessment and characterisation of the role of technology must take both these statements into account. In identifying the importance of these inventions we must beware of seeing the economic and social changes as simply caused by the appearance of new machines.

Toynbee's statement is important because it picks out a group of inventions associated with the first industries to leap ahead, and also because these inventions in some sense typify the mechanical and machine technology of the Industrial Revolution. The steam engine (referring of course not just to steam engines in the railway sense but to the use of steam to drive any sort of industrial machine) is often regarded as the central most important technical change, because the substitution of steam power for human or animal power (or water power as used in water-driven mills) immensely increased the capacity of industrial production. Without steam there would have been no machine age, with its associated changes in the nature of work for vast numbers of industrial workers.

The other inventions, the jenny, the water-frame and the mule, by contrast, are much more limited, since they were specific to the cotton industry. Nonetheless, they are 'typical' in another sense: they are typical because they were not very sophisticated. This may seem paradoxical if we think of the Industrial Revolution as initiating and culminating in the kind of technology we associate with work in modern industrial societies. Surely an industrial revolution must be precipitated by a scientific or technological breakthrough of some sort. But, as Hobsbawm argued, this was not the case. None of the early Industrial Revolution inventions or machines can be said to involve any great level of scientific knowledge or any single revolutionary principle. What was important was the extended application of mechanical devices, the systematic and constant revision of production techniques.

Finally, both steam and the other inventions share the important characteristic: they allow advances at some particular point in the production process which 'solves' a problem. As Hobsbawm remarks (pp.1-2), the importance of the spinning jenny, the water-frame and the mule was that they overcame a bottleneck in the textile production process, namely an 'imbalance' between the spinning and weaving stages of producing cotton cloth. The weaving stage could consume more yarn than the spinning stage could produce. Hobsbawm identifies this as due to the greater efficiency of the weaver's handloom as compared to the spinning wheel. (Weaving had also recently been improved in efficiency by the flying shuttle.)

Other writers have claimed that this bottleneck in the supply of yarn was due not only to the relative mechanical efficiencies but also to a shortage of skilled workers in the spinning trade, as you will see in the following reading, where Deane refers to 'labour' as the crucial bottleneck for cotton. In this reading, she is comparing the way technical improvements affected cotton and iron respectively, and emphasising overall the new flexibility of being able to choose between different savings in factor costs. (You may wish to consult the Index for the following terms: puddling, capital goods, economies of scale.)

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Read Phyllis Deane, 'Great Britain' (excerpts), reading 23.

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SAQ 19

1. What bottleneck in the iron industry was cured by technological advances?
2. Identify the different efficiencies and sources of economies of scale allowed by technological improvements for cotton and iron, according to Deane.
3. Why does Deane disagree with Hobsbawm on the relative importance of iron and cotton for the Industrial Revolution?

In going through the details of technological innovation in two main industries, iron and cotton, we have also begun to see why these innovations are, in Ashton's phrase, not just a 'wave of gadgets'. This is essentially because the technological innovations operate as a combined series of effects within the production sector proper. Further, non-industrial factors also play a part. For instance, Deane remarks on the demand for strong cast iron for cannons in the British-French wars. In the next section, we shall look at this whole question of change in demand by examining the change in markets. But Deane makes it particularly clear how changes in one aspect of a production stage in one industry can affect the overall process of production not only in that industry but also affect other industries as well, the most obvious example being the development of iron for the production of machines.

Another important development associated with the increasing use of large heavy machines, relying on steam as a central source of power and combining many operations in one, is the development of the factory system itself: a centralised workplace attended by workers. The factory as something producing efficiencies and economies of scale is therefore itself a technological innovation. (Section 4.2 will give a further discussion of the factory.)

In an earlier section of the course (section 3.4.2), we emphasised that technology was not merely a matter of using tools but also utilising the human body in different ways. Several of the readings have referred to the changes in skills needed with the introduction of increasingly detailed labour-saving mechanical technology. 'Labour-saving' refers not only to labour cost saving in the numbers employed but also to savings in the costs which individual workers could command for their skills (including strength). Consequently, mechanical innovation also allows more unskilled labour to be used - those, such as displaced agricultural workers, not trained in traditional crafts, and women and children, not as strong as male workers. This tendency is often referred to as de-skilling, although one should not forget that new, if less complex, skills are demanded in machine-minding. As Deane notes (reading 23, p.4) de-skilling combined with the use of steam - a portable source of power, not dependent upon local resources (as water-power is), to make industry more flexible and less tied to traditional locations.

Further innovations in human technology identified with the Industrial Revolution will be discussed in section 4.2.2. The increasingly specialised technical division of labour and the consequent demands for synchronisation are ways of utilising not just the bodies of individual workers but of individual workers treated as a co-ordinated body.

Clearly the impact of technology in the Industrial Revolution is far more complex than simply the introduction of 'gadgets'. Such a depiction obscures not only:

- the fact that the possibilities offered by new technology were put into practice only under certain conditions;

- the fact that technology - both human and mechanical - involved a significant interaction within industries, between industries and between industries and the market and transportation systems;

- the fact that flexibility is a new quality of production, i.e., that a capitalist entrepreneur can now choose between capital-saving, labour-saving or fuel-saving as ways of cheapening production; but also

- the fact that, with the 'disembedding' of technology from social organisation, rapid change - and hence characteristic 'knock-on' effects - became the norm of production and an expectation for investment in production. As summarised by the historian, Maurice Dobb:

> If we focus our attention on technical change *per se*, it is both true and important that, once launched on its new career, this change was a continuing process ... With the arrival of steam-power, previous boundaries to the complexity and the mass of machinery and to the magnitude of the operations which machinery could perform were swept away. To a certain extent, even, revolution in technique acquired a cumulative impetus of its own, since each advance of the machine tended to have as its consequence a greater specialization of the units of its attendant human team; and division of labour, by simplifying individual work-movements, facilitated yet further inventions whereby these simplified movements were imitated by a machine. Technical progress had come to be an element in the economic cosmos that was accepted as normal, and not as something exceptional and intermittent. (1946, p.268)

4.1.3 Distribution and consumption

For manufacture to become an attractive form of investment for entrepreneurs, there had to be a corresponding growth in demand for the goods produced. Different factors combined at the end of the eighteenth century to create the conditions for such an increase in demand. Whereas a demand had always existed for luxury items, the task was now to create a mass market for ordinary goods.

1. The formation of a substantial market for British manufactures was achieved partly by a form of protection which prevented foreign goods penetrating the English market, thereby fostering the home industries. The destruction of the Indian cotton industry, described by Hobsbawm, would be an example of this.

2. A second factor was the increase in population at the end of the eighteenth century, an increase based not just upon an absolute increase in the birthrate but upon declining levels of infant mortality and a general increase in life expectancy.

3. The move on the part of country people to the emerging urban centres, such as Manchester, created the conditions for urban markets in which an urban

proletariat had far more need and cash ability to purchase certain goods, such as food and clothing, than they would have done in the countryside, where these things would previously have been produced domestically.

4. Britain was able to exploit her position as a colonial and mercantile power to ensure that she had access to new foreign markets in which she had a privileged position. These colonial markets were not only for selling goods (remember that cotton was important largely as an export good), but also for buying raw materials at very low prices.

5. There is, lastly, one feature upon which many economists agree, while disagreeing on the major causes of economic growth. This is the idea that, at a certain point, there is a phenomenon called 'take-off', that is to say, a process which involves, amongst other things, a self-generating growth of demand and hence domestic market. The greater the degree of industrial production, the greater requirement there was for a larger labour force and hence the greater demand for products. A virtuous circle was established in which economic growth fuelled economic growth.

'Take-off'and 'growth' [point 5 above] are key terms in the theory put forward by W.W. Rostow in the 1950s. You will be gratified to know that the initials of the Christian names of this American proponent of the technological road to the promised land stand for the name of the poet idolised by Mike Lefevre, the Chicago steelworker of reading 3 - Walt Whitman. Rostow's theory concerns the possible consequences of a shift in production in one sector (e.g. the cotton industry) which would then fuel a whole set of other changes. Thus, such a sector would not so much 'typify' a revolution as 'spearhead' it. Such a shift, caused typically by technological innovation, would result in rapid growth 1) by stimulating demand for more technological achievements and suitable personnel; 2) a general demand for suitable institutions and setting, e.g. professional managers, urban locations, transportation innovation; 3) by affecting other industries, for instance by cheapening an input to another industry. The cumulative effect would be to increase industrial and consumer demand and thus to ensure a period of sustained growth.

In order to see the question of markets addressed in a more dynamic way, that is, as part of the continuing debate which surrounds the question of the Industrial Revolution, we shall now look at another chapter from Hobsbawm's *Industry and Empire*.

Any standard history of the Industrial Revolution would list most of points 1-5 above as factors producing an increased market for manufactured goods. But then begin the disputes about which factors are more important. It is in discussions such as the following further reading from

Industry and Empire that you begin to get a sense of what kinds of concerns animate debates about the Industrial Revolution. Hobsbawm begins with the general question of why profit-oriented manufacturers should think of technological improvements as a way of making profit, when more traditional craft skills aimed at the luxury market would have looked more certain investments. Is it, he then asks, a dramatic change in the domestic market which causes the trend to technological innovation? He analyses these domestic trends in a far more systematic way than we have here and then ..... Your work in this reading will be twofold, first to spell out Hobsbawm's more detailed analysis of the expansion of the market and, second, to fill in the rest of his argument - what is Hobsbawm looking for in his analysis of domestic and foreign markets? What is his conclusion?

* * *

Read Eric Hobsbawm 'Origin of the Industrial Revolution' (excerpts), reading 24, pp.1-6.

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SAQ 20

1. What are the four relevant factors Hobsbawm isolates with respect to the growth of the domestic market?
2. What two main problems does Hobsbawm identify for attempts to assess population growth as a factor causing the Industrial Revolution?
3. What initial question does Hobsbawm pose? What conclusion does he come to?

Obviously, this growth in the domestic market placed the severest strains on the existing communications and transport network. This is not only the demand to transport finished goods to the urban markets. Factories frequently grew up near sources of energy such as coal and water. Consequently urban growth was not just the expansion of old towns. The spinning towns of Lancashire and the metal towns of Yorkshire are examples of this. These new urban centres required links with existing urban centres and also with the markets of the south. There was a major expansion of sea freight from the north to the south of England but this did not solve the problem of connecting inland towns and markets. The late eighteenth century witnessed a major growth of canals, an inexpensive and reliable form of transport which, within a few years, established an almost complete waterway system throughout England. There was also a programme of road improvement and building, facilitated by new techniques of hardening road surfaces. The major innovation, marked by the opening of the Stockton and Darlington railway in 1825, is what most people identify as the crucial revolution in transport (see map 3).

4.1.4 Class relations

We have already touched upon, in various ways, one of the salient features of the formation of the new capitalist class - a shift in investment from speculative commercial ventures to industrial enterprises in which the capitalist could actually intervene to increase the profitability of the enterprise. Mercantile speculations had depended essentially on intelligent calculations about movements over which the investor had no control - guessing whether a particular good could be bought cheap and sold dear, dependent on the prompt arrival of trading ships. By contrast, industrial investment was, as Hobsbawm and Deane argued, a way of actually ensuring that changes could be effected in the price of production, geared now towards a mass rather than luxury market. This intervention could take many forms, from machine innovation to improvements in the efficiency of the work force. 'Captains of industry', such as Robert Peel, typically took a major role in running their factories as well as owning them.

And who were the workers engaged in these new forms of industry? The industrial proletariat was an increasingly homogeneous body of industrial workers formed by the regularities of the factory system and the wage relation from a diverse population of mixed skills and backgrounds. One group in particular is usually identified as a significant proportion of the new industrial labour force - country people forced off their land by the seizure of land previously held on a rented or customary basis. Initiated as part of the modernisation of agriculture by powerful landlords, this process of enclosure of land went on from at least the fifteenth century in England. Gaining possession of all these small plots of land, including what was previously traditional common land, made it possible for big landowners to consolidate large fields more suitable for improved agricultural techniques.

4.1.5 Some qualifications

It is necessary at this point to enter some qualifications to the picture we began with, for there have been many disputes about the nature - or even existence - of the Industrial Revolution.

These kinds of qualifications concern either the notion of 'revolution' or 'industrial'. A revolution seems to imply something that happens quickly with a marked 'before' and 'after'. It is not just that the Industrial Revolution took place over a long period of time but that dramatic changes often did take place in the eighteenth century, which do not fulfil all the qualifications. Many of the important transformations in production techniques did not involve machinery at all.

The term '*industrial*' comes under dispute first for its emphasis on heavy industry and technological innovation. Critics often point out the primitive nature of the new technologies as well as the persistence of pre-mechanical or only semi-mechanised forms of production methods, which nonetheless produced major increases in output and brought about a major reorganisation of production. It is also important to note that the areas of production undergoing change were far wider than textiles or heavy industry. They included industries such as porcelain, for example. Finally, as is clear already, the 'Industrial Revolution' refers to the entire set of changes in trade and transport as well as social and demographic shifts.

Such disputes concern the unity implied by the use of a single label, Industrial Revolution. Some of these objections have centred on Hobsbawm's account itself, for overgeneralising from one industry, cotton, for failing to acknowledge consistently the continuing importance of traditional craft skills, of non-urban production units, of the late occurrence of many of the developments usually identified with the Industrial Revolution. It has also been pointed out that, although cotton was one of the first industries to use machinery on a large scale, its greatest export boom had already occurred substantially before those 'familiar inventions' were applied.

Such disputes explain why you can hardly do any reading about the Industrial Revolution without encountering what might look like endless quibbles about its dates. Should the Industrial Revolution be dated in 1760, since three great inventions coincide with George III's accession to the British throne? Should it be delayed until as late as 1850 when the properly *industrial* side of the revolution - the iron and coal industries - were only properly 'taking off'? What about the mini-depression in the overall British economy between 1840 and 1860 - can you have a revolution with a gap in the middle of it? Behind these 'quibbles' about dates lies the whole problem of how to think about the Industrial Revolution as a cohesive entity.

From a different line of argument, Marxist critiques have queried whether the Industrial Revolution is itself the decisive moment in establishing modern work and life. They dispute the notion of an *industrial* society by counterposing that of a *capitalist* society. (This will be discussed further in section 4.3.)

However, these qualifications and difficulties need not undermine the notion of the Industrial Revolution but should cause us to be more circumspect. Clearly, the emergence of entirely new industries produced effects in many other areas of production, distribution and consumption, as well as other aspects of life. In many respects the problems derive from trying to embody the Industrial Revolution in one image, a single driving mechanism - whether it be technology or class relations - which can power a whole set of changes. What has to be accepted instead is that no one element can be isolated.

As we have seen, there are important aspects to the idea of change, not as a single moment of revolution but as an institutional feature of industrial society:

1. We are dealing with a *combination* of interconnected elements, and it is only as a combination that the idea of the Industrial Revolution makes sense. You have already come across an example of this point in the Hobsbawm and Deane readings. Hobsbawm argued that industries manifesting economic growth could not count as proper instances of the Industrial Revolution if they still used old methods. Nor, conversely, could the use of new methods which produced no economic growth. In reading 24, he asked the kind of question proper to the concept of the Industrial Revolution: given that modern industries are distinctively oriented to profit-making, why should they see *technological innovation* as the way to make profits? You have already seen the answer he gives: that the changes in the market made it worthwhile for someone with money to invest (a capitalist) to put that money into innovations geared to supplying that market - innovations which could supply cheap standardised goods for the mass market.

2. The second point is the *pace* of change itself, not just a sudden speed-up in development but the incorporation of that new pace of change into the production system. It is not merely a matter of there being many changes. Change becomes the *norm* of industrial production.

In the following SAQ you will be expected to make connections on the basis of both the sections you have completed in the study guide and the readings. Nonetheless, your answers are not expected to be very long (50 words at most for the first, 3 words for the last); merely indicate the interconnection *between* the different elements constituting the Industrial Revolution.

SAQ 21

1. On the basis of the study guide and answers to SAQs 18-20, outline how increased production in mass consumption goods is connected to markets and to transportation.
2. What makes possible improvements in transportation systems, particularly the railways?
3. Supposing you have a receptive export market, a set of technological improvements in machinery, a pool of investment funds - and you want to set up a factory. What else do you need?

Taken together, we see the increasing interdependence of production, distribution, investment and consumption, each of which is geared to permanent alteration. The other side of this combination of elements is the separation of aspects of the labour system, the production system, and investment calculations, from the social organisations which had previously organised them. That is to say, in contrast with our analysis of 'embedded' economies in traditional societies, we see a process analysable in terms of the emergence of the economy as a distinct and self-regulating system.

Clearly the Industrial Revolution had immense consequences for the organisation of work and work practices. Although there had been forms of paid labour before the Industrial Revolution, there is now a general transition to an overall wage system. Even outside industrial manufacture, other forms of livelihood were rapidly brought into line within this new system of employment. Paid employment soon became the norm for economically active members of the population which rapidly incorporated women and children into factory production. Secondly, as we have seen, the Industrial Revolution created a new type of employment - factory labour. This factory labour was specialised into branches of production which were either completely new, such as engineering and tool-making, or else which completely transformed older modes of manufacture, such as textiles.

At the same time as these changes in the type of employment and in the new technical tasks which were imposed on labour, there is a radical transformation in the social organisation of work. The development of the factory is clearly a major cultural transformation as well as a form of economic development. To a German in Manchester in the 1840s, Friedrich Engels, the image of the factory seemed to define the age. The following reading captures the epitome of factory work and indeed 'the condition of the working class in England'.

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Read Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* (excerpt), reading 25.

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4.2 The emergence of the factory system

Let us look at the question of the Industrial Revolution from the different perspective of the factory system itself, often taken as an emblem of the Industrial Revolution. To the extent that the Industrial Revolution consists of a combination of different elements, many of them can be grouped together in and around the factory system, especially the textile industry. As the passage from Engels showed, the factory also serves as a powerful image of the condition of work in modern societies, the new disciplines of punctuality and regularity appropriately produced by the enclosed and supervised space of the factory building. And, above all, the factory is the image of the machine.

As long as these images are not taken too literally, they can serve as a useful way of encapsulating the new industrial work practices. Although the majority of the population was not actually employed in factories, factory production became the motor for economic growth and also became in an important sense the model of modern forms of employment and the organisation of work. Here we shall briefly list the important aspects of modern work practices associated with the factory, indicating the sections of the study guide in which they will be discussed.

The factory is essentially a large-scale production unit in which two processes overlapped. One was the *concentration of production* at a single point, which permitted savings in costs to be made by organising labour in a more efficient manner - a process usually described as changes in the division of labour. The second, was the *mechanisation of production* which permitted a saving in costs by substituting mechanical for muscle power and instituting flow production for the simultaneous production of varied goods. ('Flow production' refers to continuous rather than batch production.) These processes often went together, as, for example, in the textile industry. Both these processes concern the technology of production, and both, as we shall see, bear upon the body of the worker in the sense discussed in section 3.4.2, where Mauss's text on body techniques was discussed. But concentration and mechanisation of production are in principle distinct. Although the introduction of large-scale machinery obviously implies a central workplace, such workplaces were introduced earlier and independently of machinery in order to facilitate improvements in the organisation of labour. Where the organisation of labour concerns the co-ordination of actions *between* labourers, mechanisation concerns the labourer's relation to the object being produced. (These questions will be discussed in more detail in section 4.2.3.)

The third feature associated with the emergence of the factory was that the workforce was now standardly paid a wage rather than in kind and employed on a regular basis rather than by the job. Payment in kind (goods of some sort rather than money) or by the job (a fee negotiated for a single task) are both forms of payment 'halfway' between traditional and industrial work practices.

Workers in the factory system are now expected to attend the factory between set hours and are subject to deductions and other disciplinary measures for lateness, absenteeism and 'idleness', as discussed by Thompson in reading 20. The work of supervising the workforce is carried out either by the factory-owner who himself works in the factory, or by senior 'management' employees. And, as we have seen, a factory is now an attractive site for outside investment by others apart from the owner; as an investment point it can compete with previously more popular speculations on trade ventures and commerce.

4.2.1 From handicraft to factory production

Of course one should not view the emergence of the factory system as a sudden and complete disruption of previous forms of production. In fact, the emergence of the factory system depended upon shifts already occurring in production processses, one of which was the establishment of what is known as the putting-out system.

The putting-out system has been described as the optimum combination of primitive production technique with a large-scale mass market. These are the two ends of the chain defining the putting-out system. It was a system in which merchants or their agents enlarged their trading activities into the production of the goods they were selling both abroad and/or to an increasingly integrated and expanding domestic market. The merchant-master would commission cottagers to process the raw materials supplied ('put out') by the merchant; in exchange for this processing the cottager would receive a lump sum payment according to the number or weight of the articles, a 'piece rate' (in other words, a form of payment by the job). The words 'raw material' and 'goods' should be understood advisedly, for this process did not involve cottage workers taking a product from its very first stages completely through to a finished product. Indeed, both the beginning and the end of the process were often performed in big workshops or fulling and dyeing mills.

The production of the finished textile good was thus divided into a number of stages. A particular outworker would then be responsible for only one of these stages.

Equally, at each stage the product would return to the merchant or the agent. Given the local character of cottage industries, concentrating all the different elements of a production process together into one region, it was in fact often up to the outworker to collect the object from its previous processor or from the warehouse - and delays were a source of frequent complaint - but the overall organisation and co-ordination of these stages was basically still the responsibility of the owner of the goods, the merchant.

The putting-out system had arisen from a shift in policy on the part of the master-merchants, who sought in the countryside an alternative to the expensive guild-controlled crafts of the towns. The apprenticeship system of the guilds initiated their members, after payment of the considerable fees, into the skills of their trade, producing master journeymen completely adept in all aspects of the craft. The 'esoteric' aspect of such initiate knowledge is comparable to the magic and kin aspects of entry to garden knowledge, described by Frances Panoff (reading 8). Like Maenge garden lore, this was at the same time an initiation in the less metaphorical sense, for guilds were semi-religious fraternities imposing heavy social obligations and secrecy on their members. The high-level technical skills of the guild were thus doubly a matter of trade secrecy, and could command high fees. (Modern professions such as medicine and the law have often been compared to medieval guilds.)

By contrast, rural cottage labour was unorganised and unskilled: cheap, therefore, both because of the precarious position of the cottagers on the land and because of their lack of 'esoteric' craft training.

The individual cottager needed far fewer skills than a guild-trained craftsman, since he or she would be working on only one of the range of objects a craftsman could produce and what is more, on only one stage of production. Spinning and weaving, for instance, need have no obvious connection together in the same skilled artisan. This redistribution of the skills of the craftsman was, as we shall see, an important step in the reorganisation of labour, a part of the new division of labour (as explained in section 3.4.1 and to be elaborated in section 4.2.2).

The putting-out system depended upon the existence of rural labour willing to undertake the work yet not entirely dependent upon it, capable of buying the simple equipment used, yet not rich enough to compete with the merchants. The cottage worker was thus dependent upon two potentially unstable sources of livelihood, the meagre land vulnerable to crop failures or loss of livestock, the piece-work offering no guarantees of continued employment beyond each particular job, where a drop in demand would simply remove this income.

From the employer's point of view, the independence of the petty producer had certain definite advantages, allowing minimum outlay on capital goods and none on overheads, (lighting and heating costs being borne by the workers). A further advantage was the flexibility of the labour market, since workers were not offered long-term contracts.

Let us therefore try and summarise the shift from traditional guild-organised production in the towns to rural production in the putting-out systems. To answer the following SAQs, you will basically be relying on the study guide itself.

SAQ 22

1. In what respects did the putting-out system allow less skilled labourers to be used?

2. The putting-out system is essentially rural manufactures. Identify two reasons why work was carried out in the country rather than the city.

Why did the putting-out system decline? From the side of the cottager-artisan, the problems were debt and the increasing cost of more advanced equipment, which increasingly came to be owned by the master and hired out. From the point of view of the merchant, a series of problems arose with respect to supplying the market with goods. It must be remembered that in the mid-eighteenth century there were important changes taking place in the market. Rather than producing a few high-quality goods for individual customers or consumers of luxury items, merchant manufacturers were aiming at something more like a mass market with demands for relatively cheap everyday objects. Therefore there was increasing pressure to produce standard ranges of goods with standard prices in a consolidated national market. This produced pressures on deadlines and flexibility. Yet the putting-out system produced offered obstacles in all these areas:

1. Cottage workers were not willing to take on more work if they did not need to at a particular moment. Additional cash incentives were of no interest.

2. For the same reason deadlines were difficult to enforce.

3. Embezzlement was increasingly regarded as a drawback to the putting-out system.

The next reading describes some of the measures taken against embezzlement in various industries using the putting-out system (shoe-making, woollen-trade, nail-making, etc.). It also shows that embezzlement was not just a problem of absolute losses of raw materials due to theft. Equally of concern to the manufacturer were the various ways of disguising theft by adulterating the goods, hence affecting the standards of quality.

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Read John Rule, *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry* (excerpts), reading 26.

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The problems of the putting-out system were to be resolved by setting up workshops or manufactories, that is, centralised workplaces often employing as little machinery, as domestic production, but instituting the concentration of production at a central point. This is a significant development, as we shall see in section 4.2.2 and section 5, not only for innovations in the use of labour but for its institutionalisation of the wage-system. With the manufactory comes the regular workplace and set working hours, despite the resistances described by Thompson in reading 20.

4.2.2 Manufactories

Often it is difficult to tell from accounts of eighteenth-century enterprises whether the term 'factory' refers to manufactories or what is sometimes called machinofacture; the term 'factory' sometimes means either. In reading 27, Marglin refers to the handloom weaving shed, larger than the shops run by a master weaver but not power-driven factories. (These would be examples of manufactories.) But why is this distinction important? In fact, many of the increases in output and revolutionising processes in the Industrial Revolution were in fact the result of manufactory rather than factory production.

You will recall from section 4.1.5 that Hobsbawm himself was criticised for using the cotton industry to stand for the entire Industrial Revolution, since cotton was in some senses atypical in its level and early date of mechanisation. Or, characteristically, only parts of the process of production were mechanised, usually the initial preparation or the finishing process. Many areas of production retained or developed hand techniques: both traditional and new skills were far more important in the Industrial Revolution, at least in its early stages, than factory production in its sense of machine-production.

The manufactory has two distinguishing features:

1. The assembly of workers in a common workplace, ranging from the small workshop to the larger assembly operation, and employing a number of disciplinary measures. This was often also a matter of bringing together a number of stages of production under one roof. (Together these constitute the concentration of production at a single point.)

2. The use of some sort of division of labour which could be as elementary as simply bringing various craft workers together with a body of less skilled workers.

Bringing workers together in one workplace overcame a number of problems of the putting-out system. The problems of embezzlement and deadlines were solved by supervision and what are often referred to as 'factory disciplines', or 'work disciplines' as Thompson calls them (reading 20).

The following reading explains why the assembly of workers at a central workplace provided a solution to the problems of the putting-out system. Indeed it is making a further argument. Whereas it is often said that the factory, in the sense of the central workplace, was an outcome of the introduction of heavy expensive machinery unsuitable for use by domestic outworkers, Marglin is arguing that in fact central workplaces were set up even where there was no significant change in machinery. Rather, in a part of the article not reproduced here he states that 'the agglomeration of workers into factories was a natural outgrowth of the putting-out system (a result, if you will, of its internal contradictions)'. As you read Marglin, mark the passages dealing with the problems of the putting-out system identified in section 4.2.1.

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Read Stephen Marglin, 'The origins and function of hierarchy in capitalist production' (excerpts), reading 27.

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Marglin is concerned primarily with the effects of the institution of the workshop or central workplace in preventing embezzlement. In the next reading, Sidney Pollard is also interested in the new and different demands on the worker. Rather than concentrating simply on the quality or arrival of the finished good, employers begin to be concerned increasingly with the efficiency of the labour itself. Thus, bringing workers together in the manufactory allowed supervision partly for pilfering and embezzlement but also to control time-wasting in the form of lateness, absenteeism, idleness or irregularity on the job. Factory disciplines are thus essentially concerned to maximise the use of the labourers.

Marglin and Pollard also make important points about the relation between the central workplace and the institution of the wage incentive as an effective motivation to increase production by working longer and harder.

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Read Sidney Pollard, 'Factory discipline in the Industrial Revolution' (excerpts), reading 28.

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SAQ 23

1. What problems of the putting-out system are 'solved' by the institution of the central workplace, according to Marglin and Pollard?

2. Between them, Marglin (reading 27, p.2) and Pollard (reading 28, pp.2, 4-5) identify four main different attempted solutions to the the problem of 'leisure-preference'. What are they?

3. Pollard distinguishes between 'carrot' and 'stick' forms of factory discipline. Give an example of each and summarise in your own words his conclusions on their relative use, referring to his table on p.4.

It is also worth relating the measures used by Arkwright, Marshall and Owen in their model factories to Pollard's remark that group payment-by-results incentives were archaic survivals, atypical of the new concern to promote individual effort (Pollard, p.5). The distinguishing dress, output-indicating cards and Owen's 'silent monitors' indicate the new way of making maximum use of the entire workforce by encouraging individual effort within it. On the one hand, the system of dress, of cards, of marks and colours give a uniformity to the workforce as a collective body; on the other hand, that system can also be used to individualise the workers within its terms and so encourage them to improve their output.

The second feature of manufactories was a distinctive division of labour, involving the breakdown of assembly operations into a number of minute and precise different stages performed by different workers in succession (in other words, this division of process is an example of a complex division of labour, often called a 'division of process'). The classic account is found in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* (reading 29) in which he describes the series of operations involved in pin-making. (Note the ambivalence in the word 'spectator' on p.1 of reading 29, which seems to refer not only to the general reader or observer but specifically to the supervisor for whom 'those employed in every branch of work can be collected into the same workhouse and placed at once under the view of the spectator'.)

In this reading, Adam Smith uses the notion of division of labour to signify two different things which he conceives as analogous:

1. Division between different components of a branch or area of production (see comparison on pp.1-2). (He comments on the number of trades into which linen or wool production are divided and the difficulty of such an equivalent division for agriculture, a reminder of the differences between traditional activities in which individuals perform many different tasks throughout the year, and the more uniform and specialised character of work in industrial societies.)

2. The division of labour within any production process (often called the 'division of process' as in pin-making).

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Read Adam Smith, *The Wealth of Nations* (excerpts), reading 29.

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SAQ 24

1. Why is this division of labour seen as more efficient than other ways of making pins (reading 29, pp.2-3)?

2. Does Smith think the division of labour can be applied equally across all trades or occupations?

Thus 'labour-saving', or the increased productivity of labour gained by this division of labour can be seen specifically in terms of time-saving: 1) because of the 'increased dexterity' or skill which arises from the specialisation of each worker to one minute operation uniformly repeated; 2) because of the elimination of time lost moving from one stage of an operation to another, what Marx characterises as 'gaps in the working day' (1977, p.460).

A division of labour is of necessity also a co-ordination of labour. If the individual workers are made more efficient by training their bodies to be like machinery, the labour force as a whole is more productive by being treated as a collective body. This is one of the reasons for the punctuality and simultaneous rest breaks demanded by the factory-disciplines: since each worker is a specialised component of the production chain, an absence will break up the flow. And, within the process itself, the need for precisely timed and synchronised actions is obviously required in order for the body of workers to function together most efficiently.

Correspondingly we find the division of labour between production workers (manual labour) and the managers or supervisors (often the owner in early industrial enterprises). To management accrues not only the task of supervision but also the range of decision-making operations (mental labour).

Thus the manufactory already involves the concentration of production at a single point, with a characteristic division of labour. Throughout the eighteenth century and long into the nineteenth century, such enterprises continued to be the standard form of work organisation in many trades: metallurgy, porcelain, glass-making, engineering, leatherworking, food manufacture. Not all of them utilised such a finely graded division and co-ordination of labour as pin-making. But they all combined detailed workers in synchronised activities. And they all differed from the factory in not being mechanised to any significant degree. What then is the significance of that other feature of the factory system proper - mechanisation?

4.2.3 The factory and the machine

We said in section 4.2 that the factory system can be regarded as the new norm of industrial working life if we include in the notion of factory system such general features as the wage system and the concentration of production at a single point. However, as we have seen, those features were introduced and even to some extent standardised before the coming of the factory in the limited sense of machine production. (Go back and re-read section 4.2.) But the factory consolidates and fixes these already developed characteristics of industrial work. For instance, the development and use of larger, more complex and expensive machines means that ownership of machines passes out of the hands - and off the premises - of the individual domestic worker and into the domain of the factory and its owner.

As comes out clearly in readings 30-32, machinery also comes to displace factory-disciplines in some respects. Whereas the co-ordination and regularity of labour previously had to be achieved by re-training the worker's body to perform mechanically, now the rhythm and speed of the work is supplied by the machine itself. The assembly line is one of the simplest of mechanical devices, though not utilised until the twentieth century by Henry Ford in his American car plant. Yet it has become the symbol of industrial production precisely because the speed of the line itself pressures the workers into a certain pace, while the co-ordination of stages is handled mechanically. But both manufactory and machine work disciplines or 'industrial body techniques' differ from the kinds of body techniques found in traditional societies. Whereas the latter are determined by symbolic functions and prescribe specific activities, the former have the general and regular character of habits.

It is a commonplace that the introduction of machinery is in some sense definitive of the factory. Clearly, as we have seen, machines allow expansion of production, and economies of scale. Here we shall examine some different views about why machines are thought to revolutionise work.

It is not uncommon to find accounts of the Industrial Revolution attributing the importance of the mechanisation of production to the substitution of new and potentially unlimited capacities for power (from steam, coal, etc.) for the limited resources of human, animal and water power. This is too simplistic a view, for it does not explain the conditions under which such sources could be utilised and it assumes that all consequences flow from this one powerful factor. None of the readings cited here argues this simple view, although they do not agree entirely with one another either. Marx argues that the use of non-human power sources is made possible by the substitution of a mechanism for a human tool-user. Chapman sees non-human power sources as themselves 'a prerequisite to the continuous (twenty-four hours a day) synchronisation of a sequence of highly specialised machines' (reading 32, p.2).

Read all three readings, noting the different criteria they give for what a factory is, depending on different features of machines or the use of machines.

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Read Andrew Ure, *The Philosophy of Manufactures* (excerpts), reading 30.

Read Karl Marx, *Capital* (excerpts), reading 31.

Read Stanley Chapman, 'The textile factory before Arkwright: a typology of factory development' (excerpts), reading 32.

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SAQ 25

1. What is the defining feature of the factory for Ure and what two other types of enterprise does he distinguish it from (p.2)?

(cont'd over page)

(SAQ 25 continued)

2. (a) What is the central defining feature of a machine for Marx (p.2)?

   (b) What are the three stages by which the machine is converted into a 'real machine system' (pp.2-3) characteristic of the factory?

3. (a) What is the defining feature of the factory for Chapman (p.2)?

   (b) What two types of enterprises does he distinguish it from?

4. What similarities and differences are there between these three accounts?

Thus, all of them agree in seeing the factory as distinctive in using a set of different machines synchronised together from a common power source to allow continuous production. They all agree that previous forms of enterprise, with production concentrated at a single point for reasons of either supervision or division of labour are not factories even though they may employ machines.

Yet their attitudes differ. Chapman emphasises the market demands requiring flow production rather than batch production (check his definition, p.1), and hence the need for the synchronised 'sequence of highly specialised machines'. Ure and Marx, despite their radically different viewpoints, are much more concerned with the effects of the factory machines on the work process and the worker.

The reading from Marx illustrates some ambivalences which are endemic to modern social science accounts of mechanisation. On the one hand, some writers identify machines with the end of drudgery, toil and poverty. On the other hand, particularly in respect to 'de-skilling', lengthening the working day and extending the workforce, machinery is identified with the ever-encroaching exploitation of workers. (This will be examined in HP05b, *Work in Australia*.) As Marx says in a passage not included in the reading:

> ... By appropriating the labour of women and children, the factory organization of the system of machinery augments the quantity of human material for capital to exploit, confiscates the whole of the worker's life-time by its immoderate extension of the working day, and finally its progress, which permits an enormous increase in production within a shorter and shorter amount of time, serves as a

> means of systematically getting more work done within a given period of time, or, in other words, constantly exploiting labour-power more intensively... (1977, p.544)

The question to decide is whether machine technology always necessarily has adverse effects or whether, in Marxist terms, the problem is the role of machines in capitalist production. However, Marx's portrayal of the replacement of the human tool-user with the machine seems also to imply that all technology is alienating in that it disrupts a more 'natural' relation between labourer and instrument of labour. The machine is described as unifying the instrument and object of labour instead of the labourer and the instrument of labour. In the latter case, the tool is governed and limited by the capacities and attributes of its human user (including the culturally varying attributes associated with the idea of body techniques). But in the case of the machine, the labourer is no longer in a direct relation to the tool which now is adapted to the literally inhuman capacities and attributes available for producing objects.

Avoiding the question of necessarily 'good' or 'bad' qualities of technology, one can recognise the relevance here of the notion of embedded and non-embedded economies. Technology in a non-embedded economy is isolated from its previous social and individual traditional constraints of usage. In such an industrial economy, as we saw, technological developments are free to spiral according to the economic demands and organisation placed upon them.

4.3 Marxist critique of the category 'Industrial Revolution'

Modern historians and sociologists have tended to treat the Industrial Revolution as the very image of modern society. Terms such as 'industrial society' draw heavily upon the Industrial Revolution to give an account of the process which nations pass through in what is referred to as 'industrialisation'. By this term is generally implied a complex series of 'neutral' developments which would include the mechanisation of production within large-scale enterprises and a series of parallel social consequences such as urbanisation.

Marxists reject this, but not because they reject the importance of the Industrial Revolution in altering production methods. Rather, they argue that the conventional histories and sociological analyses omit or at least obscure what is the central point for them. That is, that the Industrial Revolution occurred within the context of the emergence of a capitalist system. What the historians for the most part have neglected is the specifically capitalist character of industrialisation and its preconditions.

As a consequence of this, Marxists have sought to revise standard accounts of the Industrial Revolution and to set it in the larger context of the transition from feudal to capitalist forms of society. This involves paying attention to a wider range of evidence. For example, the French Revolution and the English Civil War are considered as important elements in the destruction of feudalism. That is to say, that the transition to capitalism involves a set of political, legal and economic changes which far exceed the scope of the category 'Industrial Revolution'.

Moreover, this view also contests the particular account which is usually given of the Industrial Revolution. It is argued that the preconditions of the Revolution are not spelt out in standard accounts and that therefore the true consequences are not grasped. Although historians have also emphasised the growing need for labour, the transformation of previous production processes and the introduction of the wage system, Marxists argue that they have not grasped the logic of this process. Marxists argue that the fundamental event which occurs during this whole period is the creation of a class of labourers (the proletariat) which neither owns nor controls the means of production. They are compelled to sell their labour to a class of capitalists who do own the means of production by virtue of the capital they possess.

Central to the emergence of a proletariat is the wage relation. This relation itself implies several things (as we shall discuss further in section 5).

1. The erosion of previous forms of production, what Marx sometimes called petty commodity production, typical of the small-scale marketing enterprises of the otherwise self-sufficient peasant household.

2. It implies that production and distribution take the form of commodity exchange. In other words, objects of use are bought and sold on the market.

3. It implies that there is no obstacle to labourers entering this system and selling the only commodity they possess, their labour.

The creation of the class of 'free' wage labourers has two aspects:

1. That labourers are free to sell their labour in that they are no longer bound by customary, legal or kinship obligation to a lord and his demesne. This means in general terms that the emergence of wage labour corresponds to a recognition of the worker as a free citizen.

2. They must be free to sell their labour in the sense of being 'free' from the possibility of doing anything else. For Marxists, any explanation of the transition to capitalism must involve an account of how ownership

> and control of the means of production is gradually removed from the labourer.
>
> The wage relation then is a form of relation which we call a 'contract' in which the worker agrees to sell a period of his labour in exchange for a payment. It must be clear that, in making such a sale, the labourers are not selling themselves but a period of labour-time. Hence the relation between time and money, typical of the wage system, is particularly emphasised by Marxists, as we shall see in more detail in section 5.

To Marxists the capitalist mode of production is a combination of forces and relations of production. This means roughly that an economy is conceived as a process of labour and relations which organise how the product of that labour, together with the means of production, are distributed through society. The forces of production concern the material and technical aspects governing the way labour transforms given materials into products (for instance, availability of natural resources.) Relations of production consist of the social organisation through which this productive process, or labour process, is organised and by which products and instruments of production are distributed. In a capitalist society, these relations of production are property relations. For Marxists, the Industrial Revolution is a revolution in the forces of production made possible by a shift in the relations of production. It is the latter which has, they claim, been neglected.

As you will recall from section 3.3, all societies require a surplus in order to reproduce themselves. It is the relations of production which determine the means by which this surplus product is appropriated and distributed. In a class mode of production, in which Marxists would count both feudalism and capitalism, a class of non-labourers (in these cases, capitalists and feudal lords) appropriate the surplus product of the labourers. For Marxists, the difference between feudalism and capitalism is the way in which that appropriation is organised. They usually conceive that within feudalism the appropriation is made through the mechanism we call rent. That is to say, the lord's ownership of land provides the means through which the serf's surplus is extracted. In exchange for the right to use land, the serf will pay rent, be that in the form of money or of produce or of labour on other land belonging to the lord.

In capitalism, the mechanism of appropriation of the surplus is quite different. Capitalists are capitalist not by virtue of any legal or hereditary title. Thus, they are not claiming rent on land on the basis of customary ties. Indeed, there is no legal difference between capitalists and workers. The difference exists by virtue of the ownership of money which is employed as capital. Using money as capital, the capitalists are able to purchase means of production which they then own and control. Together with raw materials and labour, which they also purchase, capitalists may set in motion a cycle of production at the end of which they are able to sell the new commodities which have been produced in production. By virtue of their ownership of the means of production, capitalists also own the profit which accrues from the sale of the new commodities.

The workers, by contrast, have no money which they may use as capital and are thus excluded from ownership or control over the means of production. This is why they are compelled to sell the one thing which they do possess, their capacity to labour. Thus, because capitalists own the means of production they are able to appropriate surplus labour from the workers. As we have seen, capitalists will wish to purchase the workers' labour in order to set production in motion.

Marxists argue that the value of the money wage which capitalists pay the workers is less than the value which the worker adds to the raw materials in the factory. As a consequence, Marxists argue that what the capitalist gains as profit is in fact created by the worker in production. But, because their labour has already been bought by the capitalist, the extra value which it creates belongs to the capitalist rather than the worker. In this way, a surplus portion of the labourer's product is appropriated by the capitalist. We can see that in both feudalism and capitalism a class of non-labourers appropriates the surplus product from a class of labourers. But the mechanism by which that occurs is completely different.

It will be readily seen that if this transition is the focus of attention there will be a quite different interpretation of the Industrial Revolution. Crudely speaking, orthodox historians have tended to see modern society as the effect of industrialisation. Hence the importance of the Industrial Revolution as an agent of change. Marxists, by contrast, tend to regard the Industrial Revolution not as a cause of something but as the effect of the transition to capitalism. This introduces a series of different interpretations. On the question of technological change and the status of technical invention (themselves an aspect of the forces of production), Marxists have tended to regard them not as causes which have certain effects but rather as things which are called into existence by the pressure of social necessity. Clearly none of the inventions involved any scientific innovation; they were all applications of well-known principles. For Marxists, the reason why these simple innovations suddenly become so important is because relations of production have changed. It is the emerging class of capitalists which is able to put these inventions to use (see also study guide, p.91).

Marxists have also stressed the crucial nature of changes within the agricultural sector, particularly the series of events we call the enclosures (i.e., the appropriation of large tracts of common land and the consolidation of small holdings by large agrarian landowners). For Marxists, these are a transformation of the relations of production within agriculture, that is, the emergence of capitalist relations within agriculture and the destruction of the conditions of peasant production. The result is seen as not just a pool of employable labour but of the creation of a landless proletariat which thus bore the weight of what Marx called primitive capitalist accumulation.

Marxists also take a somewhat different view of the significance of the factory system. For them it is not just a question of economies of scale and the exploitation of the division of labour. It is a site of class conflict. On the one hand, the factory provides the capitalists with a powerful machine for disciplining and exploiting labour, what Marx calls the despotism of capital. On the other hand, it is also the site in which the working class can begin to find, in its collective presence in the factory, the conditions for feeling a common interest born of common condition. The factory, then, is seen as assisting both capitalist exploitation and also working class solidarity and the beginnings of trade union organisation.

However, it should not be assumed either that Marxists always differ from conventional historians or sociologists any more than it should be supposed that Marxists necessarily agree amongst themselves. In particular, the causes of the transition from feudalism to capitalism have aroused great controversy. Should one assign greater weight to a crisis of the aristocracy or to the development of overseas trade or to the growth in the domestic market? Such issues remain unresolved. However, what Marxists do insist upon is the centrality of the emergence of capitalism as a coherent economic system. The definitive feature of this system is the creation of two great classes which are regarded as having irreconcilably opposed interests. According to Marxists, not only does capitalism inaugurate the modern form of work, wage labour, but capitalism also entails that wage labour is a permanent and necessary source of conflict and struggle.

SAQ 26

On the basis of the discussion in this section, outline the differences between a Marxist and a non-Marxist account of the Industrial Revolution, and indicate how this might affect disputes about the importance of dates and historical periods.

4.4 Conclusion

In this section, we have considered some of the main features of the Industrial Revolution and sketched in some of the different disputes and debates surrounding it. These differences of emphasis and interpretation sometimes make themselves manifest in the form of different terminologies; for instance, Marxists would prefer to speak not of 'traditional societies' but of 'pre-capitalist modes of production'.

The term 'Industrial Revolution' itself did not come into use until the late nineteenth century, possibly because prior to that the term 'industry' tended to refer more to human exertion, rather in the sense still evident in the term 'industriousness'. This shift is not unconnected with an increasing representation of human labour as itself a factor of production, as something with a possible cost, a definite and measurable contribution to the product. By contrast, up until the mid-eighteenth century, work was still seen essentially in terms of reaping the benefits of a bountiful or 'step-motherly' nature, and the human contribution to the outcome tended to be discounted. Obviously, the predominance of agricultural work would underwrite this image, as would the embeddedness of work in social relations. As we shall see briefly in the next section, the emergence of work, or labour, as a general category consisted not only in the increasingly non-agricultural and wage-based nature of work - it also involved seeing work as itself something which defined human nature and which, consequently, could assist in reforming human nature gone astray. Overall, section 5 will provide an opportunity to review and consolidate the contrasts and developments outlined in sections 2 to 4.

5 TIME AND WORK IN TRADITIONAL AND MODERN SOCIETIES

5.1 Introduction

Section 5 will be a review and amplification of the previous parts of the course, centred around E.P. Thompson's 'Time, work discipline, and industrial capitalism' (reading 20). New material will be presented on work and everyday life in industrial societies, as well as a more detailed account of the Marxist theory of the wage relation. Otherwise this section will use Thompson to draw together material with which you will already be familiar from sections 1 to 4.

The central image in the article is clock-time, that is, time as a uniform standard time, graded into small arithmetically calculable units, minutes and hours. In the first two sections of the article, and in section VII, Thompson explores different ways of measuring time used in traditional societies not geared to clock-time. He is not claiming that before the introduction of the clock there were no time measures - he mentions a 'credo' as a measure of time, for instance. A 'credo' would be the length of time to run through the Roman Catholic declaration of faith, beginning 'credo' - 'I believe' in Latin. The point is that this is not exactly an arithmetically precise measure, nor is it related, as clock-time is, to some notion of one central time system. One would not be interested in how many 'credos' made an hour, for example. Even what is sometimes called the 'agricultural-liturgical' calendar - the year as divided into planting and harvesting seasons, and interspersed with saints' days, Christmas and Easter - does not produce 'the year' as a unit comprised of mechanically computable units of days and weeks. Indeed the 'agricultural-liturgical' year, with its feast days and seasonally varying bouts of activity and idleness, is, according to Thompson, the major point of resistance to the imposition of clock-time by industrialising employers in Britain in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Thus, Thompson is at one level pursuing a quite literal question about the introduction and spread of clocks in Europe. In one section of the article, not reproduced here, he tries to work out how many working people would have owned watches in eighteenth-century Britain. However, the real concern of reading 20 is not with clock-time as such but with its relation to working life, with how work in various ways comes to be geared to the clock, and how this is associated in turn with changes in workers' 'inward' or 'subjective' conceptions of time in the organisation of everyday life. It is difficult to clock on and off at a factory and still use a 'credo' as a relevant time measure. As Thompson poses his central question: 'If the transition to mature industrial society entailed a severe restructuring of working habits - new disciplines, new incentives, and a new human nature upon which these disciplines could bite effectively - how far is this related to changes in the inward notation of time?' (p.1). As you re-read the article, concentrate in particular on what Thompson means by 'time-thrift'.

A further pointer on reading the article - You may find that in places the article seems to be just a heap of examples. If you are reading carefully, however, you will notice that in such passages, Thompson is usually doing one of two things: 1) comparing different sectors - manufacturing, domestic work (putting-out system), agricultural work - to see how they are affected by the imposition of clock-time to regulate work. Or, 2) comparing chronologically different periods - late eighteenth century, mid-nineteenth century - to see how evenly clock-time is being imposed. You might underline the sector or the date being examined.

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Re-read Edward Thompson, 'Time, work-discipline, and industrial capitalism' (excerpts), reading 20.

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Put in a nutshell, Thompson's article is an exploration of the homily 'time is money'. On the one hand, what does it mean for labour or work to be measured in time to be paid in wages? On the other hand, what does it mean for time to be thought of like units of currency? 'Time-thrift' implies that time is a valuable resource to be hoarded or used profitably and industriously rather than wasted. Work-disciplines and their associated 'inward shifts' in the notation of time are identified by Thompson as a major agency in making 'time is money' the slogan of mature industrial societies.

SAQ 27

1. On p.10 Thompson states, 'We have seen, so far, something of the external pressures which enforced this discipline. But what of the internalisation of this discipline?' State briefly what Thompson is referring to by 'external pressures' and pressures for 'internalisation'.

2. Drawing on Thompson as well as previous sections of the course (try to do this from memory), list:

   (a) at least three examples of disciplinary measures

   (b) at least four 'problems' these disciplinary measures were designed to combat.

'Work disciplines' or 'factory disciplines' involve a reorganisation of work-time relationships around 'clock-time'. These disciplines can be seen as multi-purpose measures whose operation provides an insight into different levels and facets of the restructuring of work in industrial societies; they are means of reshaping traditional habits and patterns of work; they reflect changes in the structure of the economy and the new demands of the market for industrial goods; they enforce a new boundary between work and non-work and are thus intimately connected to the general imposition of the wage relation; they are new methods of controlling and organising the labour process within the workplace. Finally, they are part of a battery of wider social reforms aimed at combating such newly defined social problems as drunkenness.

Here these diverse issues will be grouped in the following sections:

5.2 Industry and idleness will examine the 'subjective' aspects of the reformation of work and non-work practices, considering the internalisation of time-thrift but also the restructuring of everyday life and attitudes caused by 'external' pressures of working life.

5.3 The wage relation will review the status of labour in market societies and examine the specifically Marxist account of the wage relation.

5.4 The labour process will examine the technical side of the new work habits in relation to emerging market relations and compare this with the labour process in traditional societies.

5.5 The transition from traditional to industrial societies will ask you to use Thompson's article to give an account of the constraints and demands involved in the move from traditional to industrial society as embodied in the Industrial Revolution.

For purposes of revision, you will find that SAQs requiring reference to earlier parts of the course (as well as Thompson and section 5 of the study guide) will be starred with an asterisk. The relevant review sections and concepts will be listed with the SAQ answers and the Index will also be a useful means of cross-referencing.

5.2 Industry and idleness

In what ways does the phrase 'time is money' - or 'time is like money' - indicate what Thompson calls the formation of a 'new human nature'? What makes the time-money equivalence possible is work itself, Thompson argues, i.e., changes in the organisation and conceptualisation of working and non-working life. Time not spent working comes to signify money lost; more generally and metaphorically one finds the propagation of the idea that all time should be put to use as if it were (paid) work, that idleness is essentially lost revenue. In other words, Thompson is referring to that bundle of anxieties and quite real re-habituations which sometimes goes under the name of the Puritan work ethic, which makes us feel that time can be wasted in the same sense that money can be mis-spent.

In late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Britain, work was connected to the reformation of the population's everyday life in two senses. First, the mass of the population had to be reformed in order *to* work in the new industries and according to the new regimes, to understand the wage relation, etc. Secondly, social reformers felt that the population could be reformed *by* work, that is, wider social problems such as poverty and drunkenness were seen as effects of an idle or irregular way of life. These two work objectives are reflected in the ambiguities of the term 'industry', referring not only to specific types of work but to the quality of energetic and useful human endeavour.

Both these angles on work are particularly evident in the rural population displaced by the enclosures and/or thrown out of work by the run-down of the putting-out system (itself closely dependent on peasant land tenure). This displaced population can be viewed as a problem for prospective employers *and* for social reformers. As the labour-force-to-be for the factory system, the rural and urban labouring classes were a motley population - not only landless, poor and desperate, but of diverse trainings, loyalties and expectations about what working life should be. The enforcement of factory disciplines on this working population tried to produce uniformities of skill and expectation and also a general training in something called working life.

It is not surprising that the nineteenth century also saw the emergence of a new theory of human nature which literally identified Man (sic) with work or labour. In this sense Marx's notion of labour as the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of human potential (see reading 5) is typical of the epoch, and still a very powerful image today. Work becomes a general and abstract moral quality which defines the essence of humanity, and redefines the relation between Man and Nature in terms of the transformation of Nature by human labour.

At a less metaphysical level, one can examine the mechanisms by which the new human nature was formed, in the sense of producing a new character and set of habits and expectations for the large mass of the population. Two interacting means of transformations are relevant, which can be identified with Thompson's internalisation and external pressures respectively:

1. explicit moralising injunctions in the form of pamphlets, sermons and school lessons which consciously

and repeatedly affirm the general sensibility that time must not be wasted. Labour is promoted as an abstract moral virtue, as something that is good for people. Working life is celebrated in particular for its (new) regularity and this regularity and industriousness becomes a general principle of behaviour. These pressures are therefore explicit and verbal ideas promoting industriousness as an abstract moral virtue.

2. External pressures, such as factory disciplines, operate to reform human nature not so much by changing people's ideas as by changing their actions, reorganising bodily rhythms and everyday routines. Some of these new rhythms concern the actual work process itself but here we are concerned more with those shaping the new boundaries between work and non-work and indirectly shaping non-working life into regular forms compatible with the new work routines. One example of this, mentioned by Thompson, is taking regular meals - something associated with new industrial working life and obviously necessary both to maintain long factory hours and to fit in with regular set work-times and breaks.

Although Thompson distinguishes internal and external, which might seem to correspond to mental and physical pressures, it is perhaps more useful just to think of the combined effect in restructuring *habits*, whether mental or physical, which operate far beyond the workplace itself. What is particularly important about these new habits is not so much the inculcation of some general *belief*, but the way in which such beliefs or expectations exist at the level of detailed changes in daily habits and automatic expectations of what is normal or obvious. It is this reform of everyday habits of thought and action alike which is central to the notion of a new human nature.

One good example of this kind of retraining of subjective processes is the 'learning' of the cash incentive itself, the mapping of time onto money in the sense of seeing work in terms of so many hours' labour at a particular rate of pay. Thompson discusses this question on pp.11-13, and reading 2 raised it as a problem in persuading Aborigines to work. Clearly, it is only in a society where all goods have a price that one can equate working with acquiring necessities or luxuries. But even so, the idea that work represents money - and more work, more money - is not implanted at birth. Pollard (p.5) indicates the effectiveness of finely graded and *individuated* payment by results. Fines, the central discipline enforcing punctuality, also operate as a re-training device securing the day-to-day intelligibility of the wage-system. Fines are far more than simply punishments: setting up a graded set of equivalents between infractions of time discipline and corresponding values of fines is a very real way of teaching workers the value of money, namely time. The fact that these were tiny but real deductions from a week's pay already earned - as opposed to promises of future wealth of an unimaginable variety - no doubt helped. But the lesson was 'time is money'.

SAQ 28

Thompson states (reading 20, p.12), 'mature industrial societies of all varieties are marked by time-thrift and by a clear demarcation of work and life'.

1. What does Thompson mean by 'time-thrift'?

*2. Does the establishment of a 'clear demarcation between work and life' mean that 'life' is totally unlike 'work' in industrial societies?

    (a) How does restructuring work also affect the structure of everyday life?

    (b) How does the concept of leisure relate to restructured working life? (Comment on Thompson's use of the term 'leisure'.)

*3. What psychological or subjective shifts are necessary to make a wage intelligible? Relate this to attempts to introduce wages or a cash incentive into traditional societies.

5.3 The wage relation

At various points this course has already mentioned the wage relation as a distinctive feature of work in industrial societies, and has examined some of the implications and conditions of imposing a general wage system.

Work had been first paid for in money long before the eighteenth century but previous appearances of financial payment for labour service are different from the wage relation in a number of respects:

1. Such payments are still embedded in or co-exist with a social rather than directly economic organisation of labour and the distribution of means of subsistence. Financial rewards for labour service do not count as wages as long as they are the exception rather than the rule, an alternative to payment in kind, perhaps undertaken by peasants also required to perform feudal labour services as rent payment, supplementing the farm produce of the peasant household or common land. Correspondingly, such paid tasks would be interspersed with a whole range of unpaid tasks, which would probably have also included the fulfilment of various mutual

social obligations such as helping others with their harvesting. And the whole family would often be involved in helping with the 'put-out' work.

2. Such pre-wage forms of payment treat labour in terms of its outcome rather than as an activity. But, rather than treating payment as determined by the product of the task - so many pieces of cloth woven, etc. - the wage relation proper treats labour as itself a commodity bought and sold on the market.

We have also looked at different theories of the economy and it is not surprising that these different theories view the wage relation in different ways. Market economists would simply see wages as another element in the cost of production and view the determination of wages as following zhe same supply-and-demand mechanism determining any price. Here we shall be looking more closely at the Marxist theory of the wage relation, which Thompson is drawing upon in his article. While Marxists agree that bringing labour into the market - as a commodity among commodities - is a distinctive feature of modern capitalist societies, they argue that there is more to the wage relation than that. Supply and demand relations, while having some effect on prices, including the price of labour, are not fundamental. Re-read p.3 of Thompson, the paragraph beginning, 'This measurement embodies a simple relationship...' Here Thompson is referring to the two distinctive emphases of the Marxist analysis of the wage relation: (1) the importance of a time measurement of labour in setting up an equivalence between work and money (section 5.3.1); (2) the nature of the relation between the two parties to the wage bargain - capitalist and labourer (section 5.3.2).

5.3.1 The measurement of labour

Before you read this section, go back and re-read the study guide, section 4.3, on the Marxist critique of the category 'Industrial Revolution'.

It is the wage relation which makes 'work' general (something a number of activities have in common) and isolated from the rest of life. But the wage relation is more than just money being paid for labour - it is the fact that quantities of money are paid in proportion to quantities of labour. Time is central because it becomes the means of measuring an activity, work or labour, and turning it into something that can be thought of in terms of quantity in relation to other quantities.

For Marx, the wage form in effect makes labour into a commodity among commodities, something bought and sold on a market with a price, the wage, which then can be used to buy other commodities, including those necessary for survival. Thus labour, as a commodity, is something which must be measurable. One does not go out to buy apples, but always a particular quantity of apples. It is time which allows labour to be measured: by paying a wage, the capitalist buys a certain quantity of labour-time - a week, a day, a year - as specified in the wage contract. It is only by appearing in this form of something measured and measurable, that labour assumes a certain generality and there thus emerges the idea of work as something over and above any particular set of activities.

However, labour as a commodity on the labour market is also a commodity among commodities in general. How can labour be measured against shoes and treacle and tungsten? The answer Marx gives is that all these other commodities can themselves be measured in labour-time, that is, the time necessary to produce them. If time is the measure of labour as a commodity, then all commodities can be put into relationship to each other and to labour as embodied labour-times. Labour is both measured as a commodity and then itself becomes the measurement of all commodities.

To the extent that both labour and other commodities operate as market goods within a general system of prices measurable as labour-time, then 'time is money' under capitalism, for both capitalist and labourer. Prices always signify a quantity of time, labour-time, and labour can have a price because it can be measured in time.

SAQ 29

*1. By reference to the concept of a market, contrast the way traditional and industrial societies organise the production and distribution of goods.

*2. (a) Why does labour-time, according to Marx, become so important in the wage system?

(b) How is this reflected in work disciplines, and how does this contrast with the boundary between work and life in traditional societies?

5.3.2 The relationship between capitalist and labourer

In speaking of the wage relation as a commodity relation, it is important to bear in mind the elimination of pre-capitalist forms of production and distribution. The break-up of small peasant households and the final decline of feudal relations in the countryside, coupled with urbanisation, meant that goods which would previously have been distributed by non-market mechanisms came increasingly into the industrial production and marketing process, as we have seen in section 4. By the same token, the labourer has decreasing recourse to non-capitalist modes of gaining a livelihood. This lack of choice for the labourer is important in understanding why the wage-relation is finally agreed, despite the kinds of resistances Thompson notes. On the one hand, the labourer increasingly needs to acquire goods through the market, with money; on the other hand, alternative means of livelihood are not available.

However, capitalism is not just a market for commodities, including labour. For Marx, the wage relation is more than just a pricing mechanism for labour but a means of extracting surplus labour from the labourer for the capitalist (in the form of profit). It is in the (unavoidable) wage bargain that the surplus is extracted and thereby comes into the exclusive possession of the capitalist. How is this possible if the wage is merely the price of labour, the amount attached to a specific labour-time? The answer, for Marx, lies in the nature of capitalist relations of production, namely that capitalists own the means of production whereas workers own nothing but their labour. As we have seen, this means, first of all, that the labourer has no choice but to enter into the wage contract. To put this another way, the labourer agrees to work for a 'working day' whose length is set by the capitalist and may be eroded only up to a certain point by workers' resistance. The wage is paid for the working day. But the working day is a different thing for the capitalist and the labourer. Crudely speaking, 'profit' refers to the fact that the labour of the labourer is worth more to the capitalist than it is to the labourer, that the capitalist is able to extract surplus value from labour. What does this mean?

For the capitalist, the workers' labour is put to use in conjunction with the means of production (raw materials, machinery, etc.) to produce goods for sale. In other words, owning the means of production and being able to buy labour, the capitalist can do something with the labour. But the labourer, who is separated from the means of production, can do nothing with his labour but sell it - it is therefore of less value to the labourer since, without the capitalist, it cannot be used for anything. This then is the second sense in which ownership of the means of production is reflected in the wage relation.

As a result of this comparison, one can therefore go back to re-examine the wage relation as a pricing mechanism for labour-time. Do wages represent what labour-time is worth to the capitalist as realisable in the sale price of the product? No, Marx answers, wages represent what that labour-time is worth to the worker. And where does that evaluation of the cost of labour-time come from? Labourers work in order to reproduce themselves, that is, to be able to maintain at least a subsistence level. In other words, the worker needs to be able to buy housing, clothes, shelter. Without that minimum there would be no point in working. Marx argues that the wage is determined essentially by reference to the prices of those subsistence goods (themselves measurable in labour-time). The wage represents not the sale price of the goods produced by the worker but the cost of reproducing the worker (the cost of the labourer's labour power) and this will always be less than the value of the labour to the capitalist.

This relation can be represented through the notion that the working day is always longer than would be required by the worker simply to acquire the price of maintenance. (One should avoid the concept of bare subsistence for, as we have seen, this is a variable thing and, indeed, under capitalism, standards of living are relatively higher than in traditional societies.) Thus, the working day may, schematically, be said to contain a component of the worker's 'own' labour-time, from which the capitalist makes no profit, since it is returned in wages. But the working day also contains a component commanded by the capitalist who, having bought the labour and owning the means of production, can command the profit (after offsetting other production costs).

This would explain why struggles over the length of the working day have been so important in the history of the labour movement. For the capitalist there would always be a sticking point below which it is no longer profitable to run an industry. For capitalism to operate the period of labour-time agreed in the contract must always be greater than the labour necessary simply to reproduce the worker's needs. But the worker is not allowed to work only that long: the wage contract offers the stark choice of employment on set terms or not at all.

It should perhaps be emphasised that the capitalists' surplus is not used primarily for lavish private consumption. However inviting such images of cigar-smoking magnates, the most important feature of capitalism is its augmentation of the level and structure of the production process itself. Investment in improvements in efficiency and further means of increasing productivity are fundamental features of capitalism. Thus we can return to the Marxist assessment of the Industrial Revolution. We saw that, for Marxists, the Industrial Revolution was itself made possible by a prior and more fundamental shift in the changing relations of production, as embodied in the wage relation. The Industrial Revolution is thus placed as a consequent and still typically capitalist shift in the forces of production. The constant increase in productivity, and the institutionalisation of change in the drive to increase output and profitability result from the reinvestment of surplus in production and the drive to increase surplus beyond previous levels. Correspondingly, time-thrift is more than merely not wasting time. It is, more characteristically, the drive to maximise the use of time.

SAQ 30

*1. How do capitalist relations of production place capitalist and labourer in different relations to the means of production?

2. Where does profit come from, according to Marxists, and what is the relation between profit and wages?

*3. How does the elimination of previous forms of production and distribution reinforce the position of the labourer in the capitalist mode of production?

*4. How would problems in the specifications of needs affect the Marxist concept of the wage relation?

5.4 The labour process

On p.3 Thompson states, 'Attention to time in labour depends in large degree upon the need for the synchronization of labour.' Thompson is here referring to various aspects of the division of labour, considered as a technical feature of the structure of work and industry (referred to in Marxist terms as pertaining to the forces of production). Thompson's simple remark can be unpacked to disclose a number of features of the rhythms of work in industrial society (as discussed in section 4) and contrasted to work in traditional societies.

'Synchronisation' of labour is merely the other side of the division of labour, since even a simple division of labour requires a joint mobilisation of the labour force and a means of deciding who will undertake what part of the task. But with the complex division of labour typical of industrial societies (although not entirely absent from traditional societies) the demands of synchronisation are more detailed and complicated. Further, synchronisation in traditional societies will not be managed through technical means, but will call into play social relations such as kinship obligation. More complex divisions of labour in traditional societies also involve investing particular tasks with ritual and customary status bound up in the transmission of skills.

In industrial societies, synchronisation of labour assumes a more purely technical aspect. It can be broken down into:

- synchronisation of different branches and stages of production

- synchronisation of production and market demand
- synchronisation of the labour process itself, involving not only co-ordinated attendance at the factory but the co-ordination of the subdivision of process (Thompson p.3).

Work disciplines, especially surveillance and supervision of workers and the training of workers to precision movements, obviously bear most directly on the subdivision of process. However, the demand for this precision and co-ordination also reflects the relay of the demand for synchronisation between industries and between industries and the market.

SAQ 31

*1. What is the difference between a simple and complex division of labour? What corresponding types of synchronisation do they require? Give examples of each from a traditional and industrial society.

*2. Why does the use of machines reinforce the concentration of production?

*3. Why are schedules and deadlines characteristic of the industrial system?

*4. What new body techniques or individual disciplines are required by

(a) the manufactory?
(b) the machine?

*5. How does the 'disembedding' of technology from social relations affect the training of an industrial workforce?

5.5 The transition from traditional to industrial society

In sections 5.1 to 5.4 many differences between work in traditional and industrial societies have been reviewed. The final SAQ will ask you to use Thompson's article to give a concrete example of the constraints and demands involved in the transition. In doing this, you should also bear in mind some of the general structure of the contrast as outlined in the course.

SAQ 32

*1. On p.2 Thompson describes work in traditional societies as 'task-orientation'. What features of work in such societies does this refer to?

*2. In what respects does the putting-out system (which Thompson refers to, pp.4-5, as the domestic system) display features of work in traditional societies?

*3. In what respects is the putting-out system different from work in traditional societies?

*4. How is the demand for standardisation of goods connected to change in the market and what particular complaint was made about the putting-out system in this respect?

*5. How does 'work' become a general category in industrial societies?

This course has provided considerable descriptive material on societies with which you were probably unfamiliar, as well as an account of the transition, in Britain between 1750 and 1850, from pre-industrial to industrial society. It has also raised some problems in the attempts to compare the institutions and practices of one society with those of another. These difficulties take several forms:

- Our language contains the term 'work' but the languages of other societies may not. How then can we be sure we are talking about the same thing when we try to compare work practices across societies?
- Even when two societies possess the term 'work' or a direct equivalent, they may include very different practices as examples of work. This fact, too, complicates the problem of cross-cultural comparisons.
- Within a single society the term 'work' may have very different meanings for different people. Some may enjoy it, others loathe it: some spend a great deal of time on it, others very little. This variation, even within one society, raises the problem of how to define work, and the meaning of work, with sufficient accuracy and generality.

In this course the problems associated with making comparisons have largely been concerned with 'work' and the 'economy'. They have also been treated at their most difficult in comparing peoples who have very different ways of getting a livelihood. However you can see that to some extent these difficulties can characterise all comparisons, even within one society or between societies that are very similar. In the next course HP05b, *Work in Australia*, some of the issues and concerns will be raised again but this time they will be discussed in the context of contemporary Australian society. New issues too will be examined - how different economic approaches explain the current recession in Australia, for example, and what role women play in the workforce. Course HP05a, *Work in History*, has discussed some of the analytical questions surrounding the notion of 'work' and its central importance in our lives. It has also shown how work has come to occupy that central position by describing the historical conditions out of which our modern economy emerged.

TUTORIAL TWO

This tutorial will give you a chance to discuss any difficulties you may have had in the second half of the course but will be mainly directed towards preparation for the exam. The following three questions will be treated as if they were questions appearing on the examination paper: we will consider how to organise answers to them.

1. What is the significance of referring to a society as 'industrial' rather than 'capitalist'?

2. Describe the major aspects of the transition from traditional to industrial society in Britain between 1750 and 1850.

3. What broad effects did changes in work have on patterns of everyday life?

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URE, A. (1977). The blessings of the factory system from *The Philosophy of Manufacturers, 1835* in Clayre, A. ed. *Nature and Industrialization.* Melbourne: Oxford University Press.

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DOBB, M. (1946). *Studies in the Development of Capitalism.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

FIRTH, R. (1959). *Economics of the New Zealand Maori.* Wellington, N.Z.: A.R. Shearer, Government Printer. 2nd edition.

MARX, K. (1977). *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Vol.1. New York: Vintage Books. Originally published 1867.

PANOFF, M. (1977). Energie et vertu: le travail et ses representations en Nouvelle-Bretagne. *L'Homme*, Vol.17, No.2-3, pp.7-21.

FURTHER READING

These suggestions are not necessary for the assessment.

The best place to start on any further reading would simply be to go to texts which have been excerpted here and read them in their entirety. This will give you a clearer sense of how arguments are posed in particular contexts as well as providing more descriptive and analytical material. Particularly recommended as interesting books (check the bibliography for full details):

MALINOWSKI, B. *Argonauts of the Western Pacific.*

RULE, J. *The Experience of Labour in Eighteenth-Century Industry.*

MARX, K. *Capital*, Vol.1 (i.e., read the chapters from which the readings are taken: 'Machinery and large-scale industry', 'The working day').

These are in the Griffith library.

HEXTER, J.H. (1952). *More's Utopia.* London: Oxford University Press, especially pp.66-81.

BARTHES, R. (1976). *Sade, Fourier, Loyola.* London: Jonathon Cape, especially pp.111-15.

Reading these two texts together is an interesting way of tracing changes in concepts of labour-saving and time utilisation. The first concerns a sixteenth-century image of Utopia (Thomas More's *Utopia*), the second various utopian texts by Charles Fourier, an eighteenth-century writer. In the first, sloth and idleness are condemned but there is no corresponding concept of labour-saving or time-saving. In the second, as described by Barthes, we find pleasure time-tabled in the most detailed and maximising fashion.

FURNISS, E. (1970). *The Position of the Labourer in a System of Nationalism.* New York: Augustus M. Kelley. Originally published 1920.

COATS, A.W. (1958). 'Changing attitudes to labour in the mid-eighteenth century', *Economic History Review*, Vol.10, pp.35-51.

These two texts are also particularly relevant to section 5.5, constituting a debate about how far labour was thought of in modern economic terms or a form of moral mercantilism.

For following up questions of the Industrial Revolution, you will find a vast literature. One way of checking this is to use the subject index of a library, i.e., look up 'Industrial Revolution'. At Griffith, the subject cards are part of the main index, interspersed with the author cards. However, apart from the texts used here - and reading all of *Industry and Empire* would be a good place to start - the following texts are recommended.

ASHTON, T. (1968). *The Industrial Revolution 1760-1830.* London: Oxford University Press.

DOBB, M. (1946). *Studies in the Development of Capitalism.* London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

POLLARD, S. (1968). *The Genesis of Modern Management. A Study of the Industrial Revolution in Great Britain.* Ringwood: Penguin.

On traditional societies, again you will find much written in the anthropology section of the library, and it would be worthwhile simply browsing through the section. On the question of work in traditional societies, there is less available material and much of it tends to be rather dull time-studies. But try:

FIRTH, R. (1959). *Economics of the New Zealand Maori.* Wellington, N.Z.: A.R. Shearer, Government Printer. 2nd edition.

POCOCK, D. (1975). *Understanding Social Anthropology.* London: Hodder and Stoughton.

BOHANNAN, P. and DALTON, G. eds. (1965). *Markets in Africa. Eight Subsistence Economies in Transition.* New York: Anchor Books.

ANSWERS TO SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS

SAQ 1 (p.10)

The three points mentioned by Fagin are:

1. Work permits 'acceptable distancing' from family life, that is, it provides an emotional outlet away from family tensions or emotions. Hence the increased tensions when the worker is forced to stay in through lack of employment.

2. Work structures psychological time, that is, it gives an order to the succession of days. Without work periods there are no markers to distinguish one day from the next or remember them, so days drag by as timeless empty periods.

3. Work gives meaning to leisure, that is, where work-time appears as controlled by the employer, leisure is by definition one's own, 'time off' work. Enforced non-work, as in unemployment, does not feel like leisure because there is no contrast.

SAQ 2 (p.12)

1. Work on a regular basis

   (a) between set work hours, continuously over the working year;

   (b) definite workplaces for work and only for work.

2. The fact that work is paid.

They make it easier to define work because, in the first case, the work parts of life are separated off in time and place from the non-work parts of life, and in the second case because you are either paid a salary or not.

SAQ 3 (p.13)

1. (a) Rested when tired, having worked the day before;

   (b) long time over meals, slow method of eating;

   (c) rested after meals or if unsupervised at work;

   (d) 'distracted' while working by wallaby hunting or digging yams.

2. The Aborigines would not work longer than was necessary to procure the next day's food. They looked on working

as doing someone a personal favour, a courtesy. Increased wages for efficiency were shared with kin according to the 'reciprocity and egalitarianism' of Aboriginal society.

SAQ 4 (p.15)

1. Its 'precontact' meaning, still the dominant one, is 'people are attending to their taro gardens'. But it can now be used to refer to any sort of paid work, meaning 'We are going out to work' (for wages).

2. Wage labour has only recently been introduced by Westerners.

SAQ 5 (p.20)

1. In the first stage of canoe-building, which takes place in the forest where the tree is felled, only a few people work on preparing the basic dug-out, usually friends and relatives of the owner. (The decorative prow-boards are also made at this stage.) The second stage occurs on the beach, where the basic dug-out has been transported, and involves the whole community piecing together planks, prow-boards, trimming and fitting.

2. (a) The two stages are irregular compared to each other, the first being slow (2-6 months) and involving few people, friends and close kin, the second stage taking only 3-5 days of intense communal labour;

   (b) the first stage itself is interrupted by (i) other occupations; and (ii) mood;

   (c) both stages are 'interrupted' by magical ceremonies.

SAQ 6 (p.23)

It does not make sense to say 'people spend their days working' because work is indistinguishable from non-work in various ways. The fact that there is no generic term 'work' but only terms for specific activities, which could be either what we would call work activities or not, reflects the fact that activities are not distinguished as work activities. The fact that there were no wages and no set work hours in precontact Orokaiva means that work was not distinguished as something paid and done between set hours. One could also speculate that 'work' in precontact Orokaiva would be subject to various sorts of 'interruptions', turning from one task to another, or from 'work' to 'play'.

SAQ 7 (p.25)

1. Technical knowledge of gardening includes knowing different varieties of taro, sugar cane, banana, etc.; how to fire the garden plots, where to plant different varieties in relation to the firing spots. It would also include aesthetic principles of garden layout.

2. Access to this knowledge is gained from other community members and therefore requires one to have a place in the systems of social interaction, notably knowledge gained from kin. Being able to call for help from kin also implies having a place in the social system.

SAQ 8 (p.27)

1. Medieval/twelfth-thirteenth century: labour as toil (painful, arduous), toil as crushing, stirring, trouble, work as torture (i.e., painfully render something), agricultural work, man of pain or affliction, obligation

   fourteenth century: labour as arduous

   fifteenth century: labour as ploughing, proletarian as poorman, artisan as craftsman, tradesman

   sixteenth century: orphan

   seventeenth century: manual work

   eighteenth century: labouring poor, manufacturing poor, mechanic, artificer, artisan - journeyman - master, labourers as diggers and fishermen

   nineteenth century: working class.

2. Some kinds of work, especially older trades and crafts, still have many social connotations of skill, honest toil or specialised entry into the craft.

3. Work as a general concept is something which can be recognised without necessarily being any specific activity, that is, as a general (or generic) term it is something many different activities share. Yet under certain conditions those same activities would not count as work. Work is general to the extent that it is paid and done on a regular basis: without these criteria it is difficult to state why we would count some things as work and others as non-work. Yet the regularity of work and the institution of the wage are neither universal nor eternal but come into existence, roughly, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards in the West and for many parts of the world are only being institutionalised now. In traditional societies there may be names for specific activities or trades but no overall name for work; work

is not paid a money wage. Activities we would want to recognise as work, such as hunting and agriculture, are irregular in various ways, involving 'interruptions' by periods of non-work, by magical or social relations. They are also irregular in the sense of involving different intensities of effort.

SAQ 9 (p.31)

1. (a) Natural resources: quantity and quality of natural resources, and hence range of principal foodstuffs.

   (b) Tools and technical knowledge: range from simple (digging sticks, containers and spears) to sophisticated (fish poison, irrigation pipelines, traps).

   (c) Economic institutions: varying organisational arrangements for producing and distributing food include different systems of land tenure, ways of organising work tasks, rules for allocating produce, procedures for conducting external trade.

   (d) Measurable economic performance: diversity in range of items and services, intensity of labour, quantities produced, vulnerability to famine or disasters, extent of material inequality.

2. (a) Size: (i) smaller number of households or peoples comprising the economy; (ii) limited external trade; (iii) limited tax goods and labour transfers; (iv) small output, mainly foodstuffs; (v) limited diet.

   (b) Technology and physical environment: (i) majority of population engaged in hunting, fishing, herding and farming; (ii) no modern technology, such as tractors or chemical fertilisers; (iii) no counterparts to many professions or occupations, such as engineering; (iv) a more direct and sensitively dependent relation to the environment required by working life.

   (c) Physical and economic isolation.

SAQ 10 (p.34)

1. 'Outside interferences' by the state would include anything that would prevent prices adjusting to market conditions, inhibit the formation of markets, or influence the action of markets. Social 'interference' would include the fact that under feudalism ownership and use of land is determined by law and custom. The guild system also 'interfered' with labour custom and industrial guild rules would determine work relations between master and journeyman and apprentice.

2. The market is regulated by the price mechanism, that is, everything is exchanged through sales and purchases.

3. A wage or salary.

4. Polanyi identifies a market economy as a special sort of economy. But all economies, he says, have some sort of economy in order to survive.

SAQ 11 (p.36)

The first approach claims that traditional societies have no economic system and therefore do not quite count as proper human societies. The second approach claims that traditional societies have the same type of economic systems as industrial societies, although in a simpler form.

SAQ 12 (p.38)

1. Neither wealth nor exchange should be found in the Trobriands. Instead simpler forms of economic life were imagined as appropriate - either everyone sharing everything in a form of 'primitive communism' or the opposite, that life would be so hard that everyone would simply look to themselves. These 'simpler' forms are not present while vast quantities of yams, valuable objects of great workmanship, and valued kula objects are not only present but hoarded as wealth or exchanged. Yet these objects, as well as primary foodstuffs, are not treated in an 'economic' way: yams are stored not for future use but for the prestige accruing from their display, while the abundance of food rather than its nourishing value is the main feature of feasting. Exchange itself is dominated by social rather than economic principles, pure trade being rare and low in social esteem. The exchange of gifts is determined according to social relations, the most important being the gifts given by a woman's brothers to her husband. Gifts all require counter-gifts, with the more prestigious giver always presenting the better gift.

SAQ 13 (p.40)

1. (a) Biological needs: for food, shelter, usually clothing;

   (b) social and psychic needs: for religion, defence, dispute settlement, marriage.

2. By the continual provisioning of goods and services.

3. In order to produce these goods and services labour is required. Thus, human activity on these provisioning activities can be called work, as opposed to activities not directed towards those needs.

SAQ 14 (p.42)

1. Most theories assume that societies will always strive to fulfil their needs to the maximum. Low levels of material life would thus indicate that needs are only barely being met, with great difficulty and arduous labour. By contrast, Sahlins argues that hunter-gatherers have chosen to lower their level of need in order to achieve other non-material objectives, such as minimising the quantity and quality of work. Such 'luxuries' would normally be regarded as achievements available only in the conventionally affluent societies of the West.

2. Malinowski indicated that magic was sometimes used to minimise hunger.

SAQ 15 (p.43)

1. Need is subject to social variation, with respect to levels of need and means of fulfilling need. The needs to be fulfilled must be those of not only the working but also the non-working members of the society. 'Needs' must also cover what Dalton called the 'continual and repetitive cost' of social goods and services, both the costs of maintaining production and the costs of the mechanisms of distribution. Finally, needs may be social and psychical, as Dalton also indicates.

SAQ 16 (p.46)

1. (a) Customary tribal, clan and kinship organisation provide the logic of social and economic life, ensuring both the distribution of material goods and services and the organisation of labour by obligation.

   (b) It is automatic because it occurs despite and through the non-economic character of its organisation.

   (c) If social mechanisms are truly non-economic, then there is no reason to suppose they will fulfil minimum conditions of ensuring or guaranteeing the economic feasibility of a society.

2. Malinowski says that such distributions of food do not count as a payment since they are not proportional to the work performed by the individual. In other words, such payments cannot be regarded as analogous to wages because they do not imply an exchange of a quantity of labour for a quantity of reward.

SAQ 17 (p.48)

1. Body techniques using tools: digging.
   Body techniques not using tools: walking, swimming, running.

2. English soldiers were trained to march in a certain characteristic rhythm which could be speeded up or slowed down but involved particulars such as length of stride, flex of knee, etc. English marching music would be written with this in mind, just as French marching music would correspond to French marching style.

3. Mauss argues that they allow humans to perform remarkable feats, overcoming the possum's resistance after climbing to the top of the tree, outrunning kangaroos, emus and wild dogs. The rituals allow a psychological momentum to be added to the purely physical task.

SAQ 18 (p.54)

1. Manchester is not only the centre of the cotton industry but a city dominated by factories, that is, it combines an urban workforce with the existence of many large-scale enterprises using steam power and machinery. By contrast, other areas might have enterprises using steam and machinery without being dominated by them, or might still have been rural.

2. The Indian cotton industry was destroyed by British intervention, thus removing competition for the British manufacturers of cotton not only in domestic but also increasingly in export markets.

3. This statement is false for Hobsbawm, who emphasises the primitive nature of the technology of cotton manufacture. Rather, the cotton industry employed fairly simple techniques of the sort known to the practical mechanic of the eighteenth century, whether they were actually familiar devices or new. They were simple innovations, such as the use of chlorine for bleaching and, as Hobsbawm emphasises, did not result from any breakthroughs in scientific theory.

4. Such an entrepreneur needed a certain practical knowledge of techniques, the capacity to interest capital investors, and a willingness to move into new areas of production.

SAQ 19 (p.56)

1. A fuel bottleneck: charcoal, the traditional fuel for heating iron, was getting more expensive as supplies were depleted. But coke could not be used as a substitute until the steam engine allowed a strong enough blast to keep the coal burning fast.

2. (a) Efficiency: cotton - labour-saving, improved quality of products, allowed design improvements;
   iron - fuel-saving, continuous design improvements, 'knock-on' effects in capital goods industry;

   Economies of scale:
   cotton - larger cotton factories;
   iron - larger blast furnaces.

   (b) Hobsbawm identifies cotton as more important partly because he thinks it typifies the Industrial Revolution and partly because it spearheads it. Deane, on the other hand, thinks iron is more important because iron is the material out of which machines were made and thus the cheapening and improvement of iron goods made all other machine-based developments possible.

SAQ 20 (p.60)

1. The four factors are:

   (a) population growth;

   (b) spread of monetary rather than non-monetary incomes;

   (c) increase in per capita income;

   (d) industrially produced goods replacing older domestic manufactures or imports.

2. Although there was rapid population growth from 1740-1901, it is difficult to judge whether it is a cause or an effect of industrialisation. For instance, Hobsbawm points out that population growth might have been spurred on by improved chances of getting a job, or the demand for child labour; also developments associated with industrialisation, such as improved sanitation or other environmental improvements, undoubtedly meant that more children survived infancy and people lived longer. Second, population growth does not, in fact, seem to have begun until 1750, growing with the Industrial Revolution, rather than preceding, and hence possibly causing, it.

3. The question is: what was the spark that ignited the Industrial Revolution? Hobsbawm concludes that colonial markets (both in the sense of providers of raw materials and goods and in the sense of buyers) were more important than the domestic markets.

SAQ 21 (p.64)

1. Without the growth of domestic and foreign markets, there would have been no point in mass-production, while the distribution of finished goods, raw materials and intermediate goods requires improved transportation. The growth of markets is itself connected to population growth, urbanisation and colonialism.

2. Steam power is the major factor in improving railways. The canal system and road system were extended, while new road hardening techniques made the latter more practical.

3. A labour force.

SAQ 22 (p.68)

1. The putting-out system divided the production of goods into separate stages so that an individual employed in any one of these stages did not need to know the processes required for the other stages. Traditionally, such manufacture had been controlled by guilds with craftsmen skilled in all aspects of the trade who, furthermore, had secured monopolies on their trades by keeping these knowledges secret and embedding them in semi-religious ceremonies and obligations.

2. Rural labour was cheap because it was relatively unskilled and because of the cottage workers' precarious position on the land. Intermittent work would thus be welcome but not the sole means of support. Second, a rural location saved transportation problems where natural resources such as fuel and water were to hand.

SAQ 23 (p.71)

1. The central workplace allowed control on embezzlement and shoddy goods where legal measures were cumbersome and unpopular; it allowed enforcement of deadlines by supervision of the pace of work and the institution of measures against absenteeism and 'idleness'. Finally, since workplace employment was full-time, it made workers more sensitive to the cash incentive since they could rely less on other forms of subsistence.

2. Legal measures, factory disciplines, the sub-contract and payment by results.

3. 'Carrot': kindness, promotion, higher wages; 'stick': dismissal or threat of dismissal, fines, corporal punishment, complaints to parents, degrading dress. Far more employers used 'stick' than 'carrot' incentives; dismissal and fines were the most used.

SAQ 24 (p.72)

1. It allows an increase in the productive powers of labour because:

   (a) concentrating on one action per worker increases dexterity;

   (b) saves time otherwise lost moving from one action to another;

   (c) machine can actually replace humans.

2. No. He argues that agriculture is less susceptible both in the separation of one aspect of the 'trade' from another and in the detailed division of the operations themselves.

SAQ 25 (pp.74-75)

1. For Ure, the factory must employ a connected series of machines with a common power source. Neither the use of unconnected machines nor the assemblage of workers in one centralised workplace - both found in manufactories - count as a factory for him.

2. (a) Centrally, for Marx, the machine is the substitution of a tool for the human hand.

   (b) First, a single machine combines back together all the operation of a single craftsman. Second, the machines are broken down into co-ordinated machines with different specialised operations. Finally, the co-ordinated machines are driven by a single motive power.

3. (a) The factory employs flow production rather than batch production. Flow production means that machines are arranged in line sequence for continuous production.

   (b) (i) Concentration at the point of production with machines requiring a level of capital higher than an individual craftsman could afford.

   (ii) Concentration at the point of production for supervisory and disciplinary reasons.

4. All three seek to distinguish factories from manufactories where the latter are seen as involving

concentration at the point of production as well as some machinery, but not an integrated machine production. All three agree that machinery run by a single motive power is a necessary condition of being a factory although Chapman thinks it is not sufficient, requiring flow production as a further criterion. Marx believes that, in order to capture the effects of a factory organisation on the labour process, it is also necessary to consider the changed character of work when the worker is no longer the tool-user.

SAQ 26 (p.80)

For Marxists, the Industrial Revolution is centrally a moment in the capitalist mode of production, rather than either a neutral process of industrialisation or a unique historical event. As related to capitalism, therefore, the Industrial Revolution is seen primarily as something made possible by a prior shift in the relations of production, namely, the formation of the two great classes, capitalist and labourer. This process involved, on the one hand, the accumulation of capital initially by landlords and later entrepreneurs and, on the other, the separation of labourers from their means of production. The Industrial Revolution is a major process by which the ownership of all means of production is secured in the hands of capital, while at the same time being a major upsurge in productivity by the development of the forces of production.

This will affect questions of dates because, for the Marxist, the earlier period of the dissolution of pre-capitalist modes of production will be a more central divide than the Industrial Revolution itself.

SAQ 27 (p.83)

1. By 'external pressures' Thompson means factory disciplines and legal measures enforcing punctuality, maximising time use at work and punishing absenteeism and irregularity. By pressure for 'internalisation', Thompson is referring to the propagation of the general doctrine of time-thrift by schools, pamphlets and religious groups such as Methodists.

2. Review: factory disciplines = work disciplines (section 4.2.2).

   (a) Examples of factory disciplines include: fines, dismissal and threats of dismissal, output cards, surveillance.

   (b) They were designed to combat absenteeism, unpunctuality, excessive rest breaks, drunkenness, embezzlement, irregular productivity.

SAQ 28 (p.87)

1. By 'time-thrift', Thompson means setting up a metaphorical but real relation between time and money, in which time is not to be wasted in idleness. But, as he notes, in mature industrial capitalism 'time-thrift' has more than this negative hoarding, sense but refers to 'spending' time profitably, to maximise the use of time.

2. Review: work and personal life (section 2.1.1); leisure (section 2.3 - point 3).

   Although work and life are more clearly demarcated in industrial societies, 'life' is also constituted in the image of work, requiring that 'time off' be used to its maximum potential, whether in 'improving activities' or even in maximising the amount of pleasure.

   (a) Various effects follow directly from re-structuring the working day and working year. Set working laws require routinised working and sleeping patterns and regular meals, avoiding excesses on working days. The annual holiday as a planned and budget event would be another consequence.

   (b) The whole notion of leisure as time off, one's own time as opposed to the employer's time, gets its meaning and satisfaction by contrast to the regular work patterns typical of industrial society. This is why it is misleading to refer, as Thompson does, to a greater preference for leisure in traditional societies.

3. Review: cash incentive (section 2.1.2).

   The wage implies a mapping of time onto money, i.e., the idea that work is not simply a set of tasks to fulfil immediate needs undertaken as and when necessary.

SAQ 29 (p.89)

1. Review: market (sections 3.2.1, 3.2.2); non-economic social institutions in traditional societies (section 2.4); embedding (section 3.4).

   Traditional societies are usually regarded as non-market societies by market economists and their opponents (e.g. Polanyi), although some market economists do attempt to reconstruct traditional societies in terms of a market 'distorted' by kinship, rituals and custom. Industrial societies, by contrast, are seen as market societies. As such, their system of distribution of goods is through relations of buying and selling at prices fixed by supply and demand. Equally, labour enters the market as something tagged with a price and subject to the same laws.

Non-market societies, by contrast, if they are conceived as having an economic life at all, are seen as arranging it 'by other means', namely by the 'logic' of the social system. The kinship system in the Trobriands, for example, not only determines the distribution of goods to relatives by social rules of gift and counter-gift but equally organises such production requirements as labour recruitment via social obligation to kin and chief. This means of organisation of economic life is also referred to as the 'embedding' of the economy in social relations.

2. (a) Review: work and wage as a proportion (section 2.1.2).

Once labour enters the market as something to be sold there must be a way of measuring it within the general system of prices, that is, in money terms. In other words, it must be possible to look at work or labour in quantitative terms, and measuring it as a quantity of labour-time allows the equivalence between work and the money-wage.

(b) Review: labour-time and modern work institutions (sections 2.1.2, 2.2); work/non-work boundary in traditional societies (sections 2.3, 2.4)

Factory disciplines demarcate work and life. In doing so, they determine work on a regular basis i.e., as occurring between set hours and continuously over that period, except for equally set rest breaks and meal breaks. In thus establishing temporal boundaries and guaranteeing that nothing but work occurs between those boundaries, they allow work and only work to be measured as labour-time and hence to be given a proportional financial reward in the form of a wage.

By contrast, in traditional societies the distinction is blurred in various ways: work activities interrupt each other and are also interrupted by non-work activities.

SAQ 30 (p.92)

1. Review: relations of production (section 4.3).

Capitalist relations of production consist in the exclusive ownership of the means of production by capitalists and hence the non-ownership of, or total separation from, the means of production on the part of labourers.

2. Profit consists in the difference between the value of labour to capitalist and labourer. Since the capitalist

is able to put the workers' labour to work in conjunction with the means of production which he owns, the capitalist can 'do more' with the worker's labour than the worker could. Hence, the capitalist can legitimately lay claim to the proceeds of that labour which, once wages and other costs of production are offset, consist in profit. Wages thus do not represent the value of goods as reflected in their sale prices but merely the cost of reproducing the worker, i.e., the costs of subsistence goods. Put in terms of the working day, only part of the working day is necessary for the worker, the rest is work for the capitalist's profit.

3. Review: elimination of pre-capitalist forms (section 4.3).

   Pre-capitalist forms of production are eliminated in favour of market relations. This means, on the one hand, that the worker can no longer meet his needs without cash and outside the market and, on the other hand, that he has no alternative means of getting a livelihood but selling his labour on whatever terms are available.

4. Review: needs (section 3.3).

   Needs are socially variable, reflecting different societies' cultural patterns as well as levels and type of material output. Thus what is regarded as a basic minimum or essential good in one society may not be so in another. Industrial societies are generally regarded as having a 'higher' standard of living than traditional societies, that is, their threshold of levels of minimum acceptability of material goods is more demanding. However, this could be contrasted with other societies placing a higher premium on other, more variable forms of work patterns involving arguably greater control over their time.

SAQ 31 (p.93)

1. Review: division of labour (sections 3.4.1, 4.2.2).

   A simple division of labour involves all workers performing the same activities, dividing the task up quantitatively, whether that be in the form of group work in the fields or exerting a joint effort such as shifting a canoe. By the same token, just assembling workers together at the factory at the same time would be an example of a simple synchronisation.

   However, the work performed in factories usually involves a complex division of labour, i.e., one in which the work process is divided up into quite different tasks or separate operations. This would require a more complex synchronisation involving sequential timing of operations and more precision. But examples of a complex division of labour, though less common, can also be found in traditional societies. Malinowski gives the example of fishing in which different boats are assigned different tasks.

2. Review: concentration of production (sections 4.2, 4.2.2, 4.2.3) and machine (section 4.2.3).

   As larger, more expensive machines are produced, it becomes increasingly less feasible to have them located in individual homes.

3. Review: schedules and deadlines (section 4.2.1).

   The industrial system produces a greater demand for synchronisation between different branches of production.

4. Review: industrial body techniques (sections 3.4.2, 4.2.2) and machinery (section 4.2.3).

   In the manufactory, the characteristic division of labour requires workers to make their actions as mechanical as possible - precise, identical, repetitive. Machine-minding requires workers to submit themselves to the 'will' of the machine, trying to maintain concentration while keeping up with the increased pace set by the machine.

5. Review: embedded technology (section 3.4), industrial body techniques (section 3.4.2), and disembedded technology (section 4.1.2).

   To say that technologies are 'embedded' in social rituals, magic or prestige systems is to say first of all that the rules for use of tools and access to skills are given in these social and symbolic forms, and are inseparable from them. The 'magic' component cannot be simply stripped away to leave the obvious work component. This means, second, that any shift or change in technology would also mean shifting important social traditions and hence there is a high resistance to changing technologies in traditional societies.

   By contrast, industrial societies characteristically separate out technical and other economic components of life, allowing constant technical change to become the norm. Workers do have to learn precise and particular skills but they also, more significantly, have to learn general habits of industrial discipline, to form habits of precision and regularity suitable to new technological and machine operations.

SAQ 32 (p.94)

1. Review: irregularities of work in traditional societies (section 2.3), and types of economies and 'natural rhythms' (sections 3.1, 3.5).

   'Task orientation' refers to a number of features of pre-industrial work - the variety of tasks involved in one trade or occupation, the variety of tasks that such a trade might throw up in the course of a day. Since these pre-industrial occupations are often more geared to seasonal or natural rhythms, they themselves appear more natural and do not conform to the regularities of the modern working day. Thompson (p.2) summarises these features as: 1) task orientation means that tasks appear more natural and obvious and hence humanly comprehensible; 2) there is less demarcation between work and life; 3) to those used to modern clock-time work, task orientation appears wasteful and lacking in urgency.

2. Review: putting-out system (section 4.2.1).

   The putting-out system involves the domestic worker in a variety of different tasks in one day, both the put-out work itself (for instance, handloom weaving) and in the other tasks the typical cottager would undertake in connection with maintaining a small plot of land and a few animals. The domestic worker would have a certain amount of control over when and how work was organised, with what Thompson calls characteristic bouts of idleness and intense activity, i.e., the uneven intensities of work patterns in traditional societies. By the same token, work would also appear more fragmented, with the putting-out work 'interrupted' by other household or farming tasks, and by the 'irregularities' of the agricultural-liturgical year with its harvests and saints' days. These patterns would be reinforced to some extent by the uneven demands of the master-merchants, sometimes requiring work, sometimes not.

3. Review: putting-out system (section 4.2.1).

   The main difference consists in the decreased control over the work, due to merchant-masters organising the procuring of raw materials and, increasingly, owning the equipment.

4. Review: standardisation of goods (sections 4.1.3, 4.2.1).

   Standardisation of goods is required by the formation of mass markets, particularly for objects of everyday consumption. A supplier must be able to guarantee a consistent range of qualities consonant with a set range of prices. Because of the attempts to conceal embezzlement by adulterating goods in various ways (sizing yard, etc.), standards were threatened.

5. Review: see Index.

'Work' becomes a general category, i.e., reflected in the term designating work as something general which groups certain activities together. It takes on this character in industrial societies due to the measurement of work in terms of time. This in turn reflects the wage system which must regard work as a measurable quantity to be apportioned to quantities of money. The wage system has as its main enabling condition the institutionalisation of the working day etc., giving work a clear boundary from non-work and ensuring that, within those boundaries, work is performed continuously. Thus the wage and its associated conditions are the main reasons for the meaning 'work' has today, although certain anomalies persist, such as the status of housework.

Associated with the institutionalisation of the wage-system and regular work was a moral or social-reform sense which also treated work as an abstract category, as something that was the basis of human nature and the best means to its reform. Work with its connotations of time-thrift, came to be idealised as maximising the potential of time, with every day judged as something which must be used profitably rather than wasted in idleness.

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This is a combined index and glossary. Where terms are explained, the explanation is given in square brackets. The page numbers immediately following the term refer to the study guide. The SAQ number is given in italics, and following it, in brackets, are the page numbers on which the SAQ and its answer appear. References following the letter R signify reading numbers.

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